The Story of the Normans

Related Materials

by

Sarah Orne Jewett

Part 2 of a critical edition

by

Terry Heller

Coe College

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Jewett on *The Story of the Normans*

Introduction

Following is a collection of comments by and exchanges with Jewett in her correspondence as she worked on *The Story of the* Normans (1887). Unless otherwise noted, all of the following letters were written to Annie Fields.

Items from Annie Fields, *Letters of Sarah Orne Jewett* (Boston: Houghton, 1911) are marked as Fields, followed by the letter number.

Item from "Richard Cary, Jewett to Dresel: 33 Letters," *Colby Library Quarterly* 7:1 (March 1975), 13-49, is marked by Dresel, followed by the letter number.

Items from "Richard Cary, 'Yours Always Lovingly': Sarah Orne Jewett to John Greenleaf Whittier," *Colby Library Quarterly* 7:1 (March 1975), 13-49, are marked by Whittier, followed by the letter number.

Items marked HL are from manuscripts. Unless otherwise noted, all are from: Jewett, Sarah Orne, 1849-1909. Annie Fields (Adams) 1834-1915, recipient. 194 letters; 1877-1909 & [n.d.] Sarah Orne Jewett correspondence, 1861-1930. MS Am 1743 (255). Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

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fragment [1884?] (HL from p. 1)

And now Mr. & Mrs. Furber are coming tomorrow^ to finish their visit. I shall get more out of him about my Normans.

Note

Jewett was a close friend of Elvira Irwin Furber, wife of her distant relation, Henry Furber, Sr.

Monday evening [1884?] (HL from pp. 3-4)

Did I tell you that I am reading Bulwer's Harold – the Last of the Saxon Kings, with great delight? It is such a high colored, vivid picture of life in those days that nothing has made me place my chief figures so easily. Mr. Furber told me to read it – and you said something about one of Kingsley's didn't you? which I must surely get.

Notes

Fields has penciled in either 1884 or 1889; it is not clear which. Jewett reports reading Bulwer-Lytton's *Harold*, which is likely preparation for her work on *The Story of the Normans*. That she is considering placing her chief figures and that people have been recommending to her novels about the Norman conquest period indicates that she is likely working on the book, but this must be somewhat early in her process. 1884 is a likely date, while 1889 is not.

From Fields, dated Monday evening, [1885] (Fields 7)

Today I have been reading hard, in Thierry chiefly, with some other big books alongside, and I feel as if I had been over-eating with my head!!! I try to think how fortunate it is that I should be well paid for learning a thing that I ought to know at any rate, but all that period is very difficult for any one to straighten out who has not been a student of history. It is so important and such a key-note to later English history, that I think of the early Britons all sound asleep under the green grass of Salisbury Plain, and feel as if they would have been quite within my grasp! When I read the "Saturday Review" and "Spectator" I find myself calling one politician a Saxon and the next a Norman! Indeed I can pick them out here in Berwick!

Note

Fields dates this letter from 1883, but it seems clear that Jewett is well into her work on *The Story of the Normans*. The earliest date for this is likely to be in sometime in 1885.

Sunday Afternoon [Fields has penciled in 1885? November] (HL from p. 2)

Yesterday I was reading hard all day as I mean to be for a good many days to come. I remind myself constantly how good all this work is in every way – and how thankful I shall be to have done it when I go to England again. I shall be able to improve an ignorant mouse's "Mouse's" mind and to speak with confidence of battlefields and warriors and be a very profitable companion in short!

Notes

"Mouse" is an endearment Jewett used to refer to Annie Fields.

Evidence in the rest of the letter indicates that it was written in the autumn, before Thanksgiving. Jewett has been reading Susan Coolidge's *A Little Country Girl* (1885). Coolidge is a pen name used by Sarah Chauncey Woolsey (1835-1905).

Monday evening [Autumn 1885] [HL, from p. 1]

This has been a hardworking Pinny, but a getting-along-one! I wish I could be sent to school over again, for I never was more conscious that I don't know how to study. Of course, a certain amount of this reading must be committed to memory, else I have to go back again and again to get things straight ----

Notes

Though Jewett does not mention that she is studying the Normans, this is most likely the task she would refer to in October or November of 1885.

"Pinny" is an endearment used by Fields and Jewett to refer to Jewett.

Later in the letter, Jewett recommends to Fields, Edith M. Thomas's sonnet, "Migration," in the new November issue of *Century*. The poem appeared in *The Century* 31: 1 (Nov 1885): 115.

Monday afternoon [1885 or 1886] (HL from pages 1-2, 4)

A Pinny playing with ink* is a splendid sight but I got a pretty collection for making different notes and references in the history that I could see at a glance whence this lively green! I dont know it should dazzle ones eyes so, when green is always suffered to be so good for the eyes I am beginning my letter before I do my work for I mean to go [*begin very black ink*] drive tonight after the sun gets very low….

I read Burnaby's Ride to Khiva Saturday night with great pleasure and a new persuasion of the barbarism of Russia. Last week one day I indulged in a short peroration on the true causes and benefits of war to begin a Normans chapter, and this story of travel made me feel more eager about my opinions. I hope to read it to you someday and have you say you agree.

Notes

"Date of Normans" is penciled near the top of page 1.

ink: Jewett writes portions of this letter in different colors, green, shades of black and gray.

Jewett's peroration opens Chapter 13 of *The Story of the Norman*s.

Colonel Frederick Gustavus Burnaby (1842 - 1885) published *A Ride to Khiva* in 1881.

Friday Morning [1886] (HL from p. 1)

Such a day's work yesterday. Straight through the battle of Hastings so that I am ready to say Hooray and think that I have broken the back of my piece of work. If I could go straight on now I should soon finish the first writing, but next week I shall have to be going to and fro crab fashion.

July 28, 1886 (HL from p. 3)

I feel more like reading story books than anything else. And a great sense of the history weighs on my mind -- not the details any longer, but the whole enterprise, but I hope to forget it after a while.

Thursday morning [Summer 1886] (To Whittier 23)

A. F. has sent me your letter and I wish so much that I could go at once and make you a little visit, but I have just come back from town after finishing the history (very badly!) and now my sister is going away.

Sunday Morning November 14, [1886] (To Whittier 24)

I have been very busy since I came home Friday afternoon for the work on the Norman book is very pressing just now and this coming week must be divided between indexing and dressmaking. If the weather is fair again I shall take to my heels and seek refuge in windy pastures.

Friday -- after supper [December 1886] (HL from pages 1-4)

I have had a very worrisome day. I made up my mind to get the index done and started early in the day, where I got news that Georgia Halliburton was at Mrs. Doe's, so presently Mary and I took ship for there and spent that last hour of the morning with her most pleasantly. She feels as solemn as I did, but expects great pleasures…. Then I had my dinner and a piece of the index for dessert and then I had to go to a funeral down the street! Then I came home for a little while and then went to the station to have a last little word and good bye with Georgia. Then I pulled at the index and finished it!! in time for the last mail. I suggested to Mr. Putnam that he should have the proof read in the office as I had written it all very plain. Now I feel as if I had life all before me again. It is a solemn thing to get such a long hard piece of work done, but I must get my breath and go for the herb-woman "Sister Wisby."

Notes

This passage has been revised in pencil, mainly with deletions, presumably by Fields. I have presented the unrevised text.

"The Courting of Sister Wisby" appeared in *Atlantic Monthly* in May 1887. Mrs. Goodsoe, not Sister Wisby, is the herb woman of the story.

Friday evening [1886] (HL, written up the left margin of first page)

One of the Putnam's clerks to acknowledge the manuscript so that is all right so far. I keep remembering notes that I made last fall and never put in!

Notes

Fields dates the letter as 1885. However, Jewett reports reading Edwin Arnold (1832-1904) *India Revisited* (1886). This supports the high probability that Jewett speaks of her first completing the book in December of 1886. This letter could suggest that Jewett was working on the manuscript in the autumn of 1885.

Wednesday evening (with a great rain on the roof of the study) [December 1886 or early January 1887] (HL from pages 4-5)

Mr. Putnam writes today that Mr. Freeman has sent for proofs of my history because he's going to do the Sicily. I am horribly afraid of Mr. Freeman -- It is like having Sir Walter come with his dogs after one of my story-books.-- or much much worse!

Note

Fields dates this letter in 1890, but that almost certainly is incorrect, as revealed by a good deal of internal and external evidence. In *The Critic* of 8 January 1887 a notice announces that Edward A. Freeman will be writing the Story of the Nations volume on Sicily 1892. The first review of *The Story of the Normans* is published on February 13. Freeman would request the proofs only if the book is "in proof," but not yet published, though perhaps proofs could have been supplied before Jewett completed the index in December. In the rest of the letter, Jewett speaks of her Grandfather Perry being ill. He died on January 11, 1887.

November 20th, 1887, Edward A. Freeman to Jewett (HL)

16. St. Giles.

Oxford

Dear Madam,

I forget what I could have said to make you say that you have found Eremburga. There can be no doubt about her as Count Rogers second wife, quite distinct from Judith his first, though Geoffrey Malaterra makes it a little confusing by leaving out Judiths death and Eremburgas marriage. But there is no doubt about it. I have given a long note to it. But what can be the use of Hares Cities of Southern Italy and Sicily. I tried it but hes worthless there on the spot. I don't believe He has ever been at Spoleto. Murrays volume (by George Dennis) is far better and [*Grell-fels?*] better again.

Maurice must be some odd confusion with [*unrecognized word*] or [*McGrice?*], or both. It never does to trust second-hand writers. I don't want anybody to trust me. Even in this little Sicily, where I shall not be able to give definite references, I shall give a heading of authorities to each chapter.

Edward A Freeman

Notes

This transcription of MS Am 1743 (68) Freeman, Edward Augustus, 1823-1892, 1 letter; 1887, is available courtesy of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Malaterra: According to *Wikipedia*, Geoffrey Malaterra "was an eleventh-century Benedictine

monk and historian, possibly of Norman origin." http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geoffrey_Malaterra

Dennis: According to *Wikipedia*, "George Dennis (21 July 1814 in Ash Grove, Hackney, Middlesex – 15 November 1898 in South Kensington, London) was a British explorer of Etruria; his written account and drawings of the ancient places and monuments of the Etruscan civilization combined with his summary of the ancient sources is among the first of the modern era and remains an indispensable reference in Etruscan studies."

Probably, Freeman refers to *A handbook for Travellers in Southern Italy and Sicily: comprising the description of Naples and its environs, Pompeii, Herculaneum, Vesuvius, Sorrento; the islands of Capri and Ischia; Amalfi, Pæstum, and Capua, the Abruzzi and Calabria; Palermo, Girgenti, the Greek temples, and Messina*. Originally published in 1853 by Octavian Blewitt; the seventh edition of 1874 listed George T. Dennis as co-author.

Sunday afternoon, December, 1888. (Fields 20)

Another postcard from Mr. [Edward A.] Freeman. He has found about Maurice!! and is more friendly than ever. How can I live up to this correspondence? I am going to head him off and keep him quiet for a while by telling him that I have only a few of my books at hand.

December 17, 1890 from G. H. Putnam to Sarah Orne Jewett (HL MS Am 1743 (185) Putnam, George Haven, 1 letter; 1890)

G. P. Putnam's Sons
27 & 29 WEST 23rd STREET
NEW YORK
LONDON, 25 HENRIETTA STREET
COVENT GARDEN

12/17/90

Dear Miss Jewett,

Mr. Unwin, the London publisher of the "Story of the Nations" series, has finally offered to take a set of the plates of the "Story of the Normans" at a small advance on the cost of reproducing these. --

We are desirous, for more reasons than one, that this volume should not continue to be omitted from the London list of the series, and we have therefore accepted Mr. Unwin's offer and shall plan to ship his set of the plates early in the New Year.

The margin of profit on this shipment, amounting to £35.0.0. , we shall divide with the author, passing to her credit £17.10.0.

Kindly send us, as early as convenient, a list of such corrections as seem to you important, and we will have made (at our own cost) all that may not entail any exceptional outlay.

We can secure no allowance from Mr. Unwin for the cost of correcting the plates for his English edition, and we shall wish, therefore, to keep the expense of these corrections as moderate.

We shall send you in January February, statement showing sales to date of the book.

Yours very truly
G. H. Putnam

Miss S.O. Jewett,
Charles St. Boston.

Sunday evening, Autumn. (Fields 30)

Mr. Putnam has just got back from London, and I find that I shall probably begin my proofs within a fortnight. I am forgetting the worrisome detail a little now, and dread taking it up again, but perhaps they will hurry through and shorten my miseries. "Vanity Fair" is read through, a very great book, and for its time Tolstoi and Zola and Daudet and Howells and Mark Twain and Turgenieff and Miss Thackeray of this day all rolled into one, so wise and great it is and reproachful and realistic and full of splendid scorn for meanness and wickedness, which scorn the Zola school seems to lack. And the tenderness and sweetness of the book is heavenly, that is all I can say about it. I am brimful of things to say.

Note

Jewett completed the T. Fisher Unwin revision late in 1890. See the notes to Chapter 7 for details.

December 27, 1890 (To Dresel 13)

I have just finished some teasing work, the anxious revision of the Normans I have felt hurried with it and of course there could hardly be a more distracting week of the year to undertake it in! But I am sending off the papers today, and feel much relieved in mind.

England after the Norman Conquest

Sarah Orne Jewett

Introduction

The following essay appeared in three parts in *The Chautauquan* (12:438-442, 574-578, 707-711), Meadville, Pa., January, February, and March, 1891. As it re-presents material contained mainly in the final two chapters of *The Story of the Normans* (1887), a reader may wonder why Jewett published this essay. Though this has not been established with direct evidence, it appears likely that she was commissioned to provide this piece in three installments as part of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle course for 1890-1891 on British History and Literature. The Editor's Outlook in *The Chautauquan* Volume 11, pp. 344-5, introduces and describes the course. This course was listed during 1890, with Jewett's essay as among the reading list items that would appear in *The Chautauquan* during the first three months of 1891 (see v. 11, p. 352). In addition to the readings from the magazine, according to the *Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle Book List 1878-2013*, the textbooks for the course included:

Beers, Henry A. .*From Chaucer to Tennyson*

Hill, Adams Sherman. *Our English*

Hurst, John F. *Short History of the Church in the United States*

Joy, James Richard. *An Outline History of England*

Wilkinson, William Cleaver. *Classic French Course in English*

Winchell, Alexander *Walks and Talks in the Geological Field; The Chautauquan*.

That just two of the "author's" notes in the essay are followed by "S. O. J." suggests that these two were Jewett's own notes and that the others may have been added by *The Chautauquan* as an aspect of the course. The remaining notes focus on vocabulary and etymology; attention to the English language appears to have been a course goal, as indicated by the reading of A. S. Hill's *Our English*.

ENGLAND AFTER THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

PART I.

In attempting to give some account, however fragmentary and brief, of affairs and tendencies in England after the coming of the Normans, the figure of William the Conqueror is constantly before the mind; "the man, who even in his crimes," says* his great historian, "seems raised above the common level of our race." Typical of the courage, the high ideals, the personal distinction of that masterful duchy of Normandy, which gave him birth; in spite of his great faults, the world has learned to regard him as a man of foresight, a statesman and reformer of broad intelligence. In his time great emergencies were beginning to make themselves evident, new ideas were on the wing, a new order of things was coming in.

We have learned much of William of Normandy's history from chroniclers who naturally resented both his character and methods; the first ideas that spring to mind on the mention of his name are apparently to his discredit. The tyranny and insolence of the curfew bell, with the making of deer forests out of the common lands and private properties; the enforced substitution of a foreign language for the Anglo-Saxon speech are the first things that a child is taught, of a truly great king who did much to enlarge and enlighten the English nation, who, more than any other man, laid the foundations of that England from which we in America inherit our best qualities and instincts. Perhaps we could not get a better idea of the state of England after the Conquest than to study the reason for popular prejudice, to see exactly what it meant and what its effect was upon the English people. Prejudice must come from one of two causes: either because the subject of it hinders right and good things from taking their natural course, or because he forces truth and improvement upon those who are neither ready nor willing to accept them. In this last and not infrequent case a man is sure to be looked at with resentment and suspicion because he so deeply disturbs the peace of mind of those who are contented to remain as they are.

There is one point which must be borne in mind in studying the condition of English society

in this latter part of the eleventh century. Judged by our present standards it was an age of cruelty and wrong, human life seemed often to be of slight value or concern. The sorrows of the conquered people, their hurt pride, their fallen fortunes, their galling subjection to a foreign foe, weigh heavily upon our sympathies. Yet the Saxons might have remembered that their own ancestors had put an earlier people to the sword and taken their flocks and herds and driven them from their homes. We must always remember, too, that it was an age of superstition and dense ignorance of many simple truths, an age when might was right, but in spite of this it was an age of spontaneous, rapid growth and change, when the wiser and better citizens of England and Normandy were already standing a long bow-shot in advance of the rank and file, already beginning to apprehend some of our modern fashions of conduct and of thought.

No age has been so just as our own to William the Conqueror's ambitions as sovereign and soldier, or to his high intentions as a statesman; we also can see that there was no reason why the English should not have driven the Normans into the sea at Hastings that October day, except that the Normans were the better soldiers and abler men and had it in them to win the fight. They had progress and civilization with them as a fleet at sea is urged on its way by wind and tide. Through their coming, Englishmen may have lost but England made a great gain.

But the real coming of the Normans into England began in Edward the Confessor's time. That famous and much lamented king was himself far more Norman than English; his mother was a Norman lady and his own youth was spent on that side of the Channel in court and cloister life. Priestcraft was always a great deal dearer to him than statecraft; he was not the English king that England needed, and looked upon his people from the first as barbarians. The aspect of the English court was changed in his day and the men of Kent and Somerset saw themselves set aside as one Norman gentleman after another came over to take high positions in camp and court, and a crowd of interlopers seemed to be having every thing its own way.

There was a growing spirit of jealousy and resentment, and worse than that, there was more and more disintegration of the kingdom. Godwine was no Norman, and Godwine was, practically, ruler of England for many years, but his chief aim seems again and again to have been the aggrandizement of his own family. If that were the best that Anglo-Saxon rule could do in those days for England, the decadence of England begged for something better. The Anglo-Saxons gave their whole hearts to local and selfish interests, and rarely comprehended the wider questions and general concerns of the day. Though King Edward was naturally pleased to surround himself with men who spoke his own Norman tongue, it does not follow that he would have displaced a body of native officials who were entirely to be trusted and quite equal to their tasks. He was too fond of his own ease and indolence and liked his blessed visions of another and an idler world far too well; he would have kept those men in office who gave him least trouble and could grapple to their work. He was bent first upon getting himself safe to heaven and not upon the welfare of that England which had welcomed him to an earthly throne and to noble duties and cares. No doubt he was the prey of those Norman gentlemen who were eager for place and profit. Then, too, as in later days religion was made the cloak and authority for the selfish ends, the preferences and rivalries of men, and poor humanity had not learned to mistrust and despise worldly jealousies and secular battles that are fought with ecclesiastical weapons, or to question boldly those authoritative opinions which reveal far more of the nature of man than of God. King Edward should have been a cloister-man, not a king, but he was for all that, too indulgent a governor not to win a blessed reputation from those of his subjects who liked to follow their lawless ways in peace and not be held to too strict account.

England fell very low and became inert and degraded in the Confessor's time; she ate her great feasts and gathered her treasures and fought a hundred petty fights between the Saxons and the men of the northern fen-lands, but the peasants lived like beasts, and a man might sell his own children for slaves. When Harold, Godwine's son, ruled England for the Confessor in his father's stead, it is true that he kept peace and that England made money and raised great crops and sent much splendid gold work and embroidery to the Continent to be sold, but it has been written of this very time*:

> It was a prosperity poor in the nobler elements of national activity, and dead to the more vivid influences of spiritual life. Literature, which on the Continent was kindling into a new activity, died down in England into a few psalters and homilies. . . . But good influences were kept at bay as firmly as evil. The church sank into lethargy, monasticism was the one religious power of the day, and Harold, like his father, hated

monks. . . . England was all but severed from the Continent.

If Harold the Englishman had been left in peace to rule the kingdom after Edward's death, there probably would have been only a group of warring provinces for at least another score of years. The great northern earls of Mercia and Northumberland were no willing allies of the ambitious Earl of Wessex, and England would have been still later in taking her place among the distinguished nations of Europe; she would have been still longer a backward, half-civilized province busy with her own pettiness and unconscious of a wider world outside. It was sterile winter within her borders in Edward's later years. "Those who will look at the fact," says Kingsley, "will see in the holy Confessor's character little but what is pitiable and in his reign little but what is tragical." It was indeed winter, but the fires of spring and the vexing of a sharp but harvest-making plough and the terrible harrowing of war and conquest were soon to come for the sake of future wealth and increase.

At the time of the battle of Hastings, William of Normandy was forty years of age, and was, like his duchy of Normandy, in the full prime of vigor and strength. England had known well enough what it was to be conquered by foreign invasion and to be divided among victorious chieftains, Romans, Saxons, or Danes, yet she had never resented more bitterly the coming of a foreign foe. The strong points of Saxon civilization were local self-government and self-dependence, -- an element of localization being the strongest tendency, -- the weak point was a lack of unity, of common interest and proper centralization and superintendence, and this lack always kept a country full of able-bodied and protesting men from resisting invasion and the power of an usurper. They could bitterly bewail the presence of William and the Normans, but the north waited while the west or the east fought and were beaten, and neither of them thought it necessary to go to the help of the north. There was in truth no England then, only a group of jealous and warring earldoms. Slowly the necessity of England's becoming one kingdom had been evolved, but Edwin of Mercia and Morkere of Northumberland did not hurry southward to help drive the Normans out of England; they really had no England to be proud of and were wary about risking the loss of their own provinces. England was meant to be a single kingdom, and twice within fifty years England had been divided.

To the eye of a statesman, even in those early days, the safety and prosperity of Great Britain lay in an ideality of national government. There were no great principles at stake in the selfish squabbles of the earldoms, although their sudden alliances were often expedient for purposes of defense. Nothing could put an end to the ceaseless instinctive jealousies of Celts and Saxons and Normans except a common pride and love of country, and the day was fast coming when all men within the English borders would proudly own themselves to be Englishmen. There never had been a great king in England who had not grasped the idea of ruling the whole island, and this idea had borne fruit in many wars and much scheming. Alfred and Cnut and Athelstan had been more or less successful in their rule and ambitions, but the moment that a weak man came to sit upon the throne, his under-lords became his enemies and rivals and the national idea was eclipsed. There never was a complete and permanent welding of England begun until the reign of the Conqueror.

William had had practice in the art of conquest and subjection before he came to England. The great province of Maine and his dukedom of Normandy itself had been already conquered. Base-born, and a minor when he first claimed Normandy, friendless, and powerless except as his claims to the duchy furthered the ambitions of others, he was a serious man while yet in his years of boyhood and his great powers came early into subjection to his will. At nineteen he already was known as soldier and statesman and had made himself feared by his elders; his proud and willful Norman subjects hated him because of his genius for promoting law and order, and in later years his English subjects were to resent such fancied tyranny more deeply still because it was the more galling to the self-indulgent lawlessness into which they had sunk. The Normans had developed an instinct toward style, they possessed distinction, they could grasp great ideas, they could be heroic in great things and self-denying in little things in order to gain their ends; the fierce spirit of the ancient Northmen had been put to school and their gifts and natural worth had increased by education as gold gains by coinage. Normandy was a fair land to look upon. To be a Norman was to belong to the best chivalry, learning, and civilization that any country had to show. Yet, hear in contrast what William of Malmesbury sets down in his chronicle of England in those days. He was born of a Norman father who came in William's train and a Saxon mother, and is, no doubt, just in the main in his opinions; at any rate he is counted as the chronicler who is fairest to both sides and

writes at a much closer date than some others to the events of the Conquest. The Chronicle says:

> In process of time the desire after literature and religion had decayed for several years before the coming of the Normans. The clergy contented with a very slight degree of learning, could scarcely stammer out the words of the sacraments. . . . The nobility were given up to luxury and wantonness. The common people, left unprotected, became a prey to the most powerful, who amassed fortunes by either seizing on their property, or selling their persons into foreign countries, although it be an innate quality of this people to be more inclined to reveling than to the accumulation of wealth. Drinking was a universal practice in which they spent whole nights, as well as days. They consumed their whole substance in mean, despicable houses, unlike Normans and French, who in noble and splendid mansions lived with frugality.

This is a sad picture of a falling state. England had dwindled since the days of Bæda and his fellow-scholars and saints. She had dwindled since the days of Alfred and Cnut, and who can spend pity over the better and gentler traits of man or nation whose sense of duty and honor, whose true intentions are not high? The test to rank such an one by is the intention and direction of life, -- if that tends downward, the very virtues themselves are turned to weaknesses.

To such an England, which the Confessor had not been able to keep from drifting steadily in the wrong direction, came William of Normandy, whom men now learned to call the Great. The conquered Anglo-Saxons, the still unconquered men of the fen-lands, did not set their wills against him so much [such] as against progress, but now that they were fairly roused out of their apathy toward their country's needs and their fruitless grumbling against the presence of Edward's scornful Norman lords, they were ready to fight every step of England's stormy upward course. It was not until William had been crowned king at Westminster, that he really began the conquest of England. At Senlac the victory was but a single victory and long years of antagonism and insistence were just at the beginning of their flood-tide. The single idea of the Conqueror was effectual government; he appears to have seen with astonishing foresight the possibilities of English national life, its resources of harborage and commerce, of agriculture, of religious and intellectual growth, its needs of national development, and all that was to be gained from an alliance with the centers of civilization and enlightenment.

To the Church in these days belonged education in letters, art, music, architecture, and whatever the Church may take; she has always had the greatest gifts in readiness for those who will accept them. To the Church's great monasteries still fled scholars and artists, who only in cloister life found freedom for their chosen work and release from the obligations of military service. England from her very insularity was full of men specially gifted and needing development, but her soldiery, her men of letters, her social life, were far behind the continental standards. When the Conqueror's army came across the Channel it was led by a banner that the Pope had blessed and the pious Normans at home were praying for the success of a holy war against the heathen English! If it were only that the great preacher and scholar Lanfranc, that gay-hearted and sober-minded Italian gentleman, who was William's chief counselor in Normandy, if it were only that such a man as he were to live within the English borders and work his best for England's bettering, it was something to be thankful for, but England could not see what sunshine was behind the clouds in those dark days of William's first English winter.

The lowland people fared hardest. It was a sorry time in Surrey and Kent. The flower of their soldiery had died at Senlac, and as the Conqueror went through the weeping towns, and claimed the lands of the dead and living, giving here and there a piece of land to a widow and her children out of their own broad estates, to keep them from starving, he must have heard many a muttered curse and seen many a black look. These were the fortunes of war; he was no sterner than many another conqueror; he was more just and generous than others had been in those early days, when war brought a man the highest glory that could be won, and might was right everywhere the spearmen went. There were those of the English who were unconquerable because they were men of the same blood as the Normans' own, from the Denmark dunes and the Norway fiords. There was a spirit also in men, born upon English soil, men who had a noble heritage and whose bravery could not be crushed, whether they were dark-haired men of Northumberland and the Eastern fens, or fair-haired lowlanders of Sussex. In these last the love of home, the love of the soil, so instinctive in the Saxon heart, were to be beaten down like flowers in the road that every foot steps on and every wheel goes over; but like these they only pushed their roots

deeper and made the more vigorous growth. It was necessary for the growth and permanence of the best in Saxon life and even its brave spirit of freedom, that England's life as a nation should be made stable.

Notes

*Freeman's "Norman Conquest."

*Green's "Short History of the English People."

PART II.

In picturing the state of England after the Conquest it is impossible not to let it be dominated constantly by the great figure of William of Normandy, which stands like a rock in a stormy sea. To quote the eloquent and just words of Freeman, "As far as mortal man can guide the course of things when he is gone, the course of our national history since William's day has been the result of William's character and of William's acts. Well may we restore to him the surname* that men gave him in his own day. He may worthily take his place as William the Great alongside of Alexander, Constantine, and Charles. They may have wrought in some sort a greater work because they had a wider stage to work it on. But no man ever wrought a greater and more abiding work on the stage that fortune gave him than he *qui dux Normannis, qui Cæsar praefuit Anglis.**

> "Stranger and conqueror, his deeds won him a right to a place on the roll of English statesmen, and no man that came after him has won a right to a higher place."

The condition of the country was so directly at its king's disposal, and was so changed in its ordering, so subjected to his will and decisions, that after the first few weeks of the Conqueror's presence we have to consider him almost altogether as governor and the people of England as his subjects under government. There was continual opposition between the Normans and the English, and it is necessary to make constant distinction between what William himself did and ordered and what was done under cover of his name by his underlings and those self-seeking officers in petty and great places who could not be held to strict account. For *the king* took land or seized money, we may often read, *the king's rapacious ministers of church and state.* William was defeated in some of his best plans by the covetousness and rapacity* of his own followers, and their determination to enrich themselves at the expense of a conquered territory. Their leader was avaricious too, but he was a king and had pride in his kingship and in the outcome of his laws. Many of his followers were untrustworthy, for the best of the Normans, those who were men of position and property at home, naturally would stay there and mind their own responsibilities, but England was the prey of a great horde of Norman adventurers, and worse still, of army hirelings who had less conscience even than they. Taxation for public expenses, however, was as deeply resented as private thievery. No nation has ever been better pleased than England to have its kings keep kingly state or to have them generous toward their subjects in the matter of pensions and bounties, yet taxation for public needs is looked upon with grief and dismay, and it must be confessed that the complaints of the English of that early age have a curiously modern tone.

We do not need to be told that there were plunderers and jobbers in high positions then, since we know only too well that the nineteenth century is often mindful of such thefts. It must be the people's money that is flung to the people in purses of silver and gold, or in parks and public buildings, but a tax seems an injustice. To be a king was to be strong enough to take what one chose, to have a right to do what one pleased; the common people existed for the satisfaction and service of those in high places, but seldom had the poor man fared harder or been more degraded than William of Normandy found him at his coming into England. Yet after doing so much in the early part of his reign to advance prosperity the great king seems in his latest years to have done much to hinder it, as if he had lived out his years of true life and growth and then fell back spent and disheartened into the common schemes of self-aggrandizement and sordid luxury and avarice and cruelty at England's expense.

In these earlier years which concern us now, his ambitions and powers were at their highest; while his adviser and friend, Lanfranc the great prelate, and Matilda of Flanders, the wise, large-hearted woman who was England's Queen, both stood by his side. Their dignity and ability upheld and ministered to his own, and through their influence, no doubt, some of the great reforms of the reign were set on foot.

One of the most interesting points in the study of this age is the change and expansion of the English language, wrought by the presence of the Normans. At first there was constant injustice and misapprehension because the great body of the conquered and their conquerors could not understand one another's

speech. The farmer spoke his native tongue, that wonderfully expressive mingling of Celtic, Roman, and Danish words with the Teutonic inheritance which we call Anglo-Saxon; the courtier spoke Norman-French, just as French is the polite language in Russia to-day. Then, gradually, the number increased of those who were able to speak both tongues, and as time went on, the simple, straightforward English speech held its own as the common speech of England, but had become immensely enriched by the addition of many French words. These relate themselves usually to the general advance in English life and thought, but for a long time the distance between the Normans and English was widened and embittered by constant misunderstandings that arose from the presence of two spoken languages in the already vexed and troubled country. King William never tried to discourage the speaking of English and certainly never attempted to put French in its place in legal or state documents. Latin always had been used more or less in the more important records and it seemed now slowly to take the place of English though the great charters and proclamations of this time are English, and Henry Beauclerc, born on English soil, was taught English by the king's command.

The chief examples of the Conqueror's so-called malicious tyranny that come first to mind are these three: the ringing of the curfew bell,* the making of deer forests, the driving of the peasantry out of the rural districts to the neighborhood of the English towns. We might add to these three, the confiscation of English lands by Norman usurpers, but that was the fortune of war; England was a conquered country, and occupation by the conquerors her necessary fate.

William held to the assertion that England was his rightful inheritance from the Confessor, and that he had been driven against his will to force of arms, and he governed England from that point of view. If there were revolts they were by no means unwelcome, -- by that means English lands came into Norman hands the faster, but in the meantime, William kept the letter of Edward's laws as he had promised at his coronation; giving them sometimes unexpected, special interpretation, although he grounded and settled them for all time. The time-honored laws of England might have faded out, to judge by the tendency of affairs before his coming, if it had not been for his strong will and stronger sword.

We might use the figure here of the physician and his patient to represent a certain aspect of the Conqueror and his island kingdom. "The main point," says Dr. Chambers, "for the physician's consideration in disease is the deficiency of vital action, and that all successful medical treatment is a renewal of that vital action." Every one of these early reforms or seemingly harsh laws was really for the well-being of the lower classes of England, "in the serf's" interest, and, most of all, in the interest of the defenseless. It startles us to find an anticipation of modern philanthropy* in William's early legislation, a desire to bring the lowest level of humanity under law and to put it on the road to civilization.

When we learn from William of Malmesbury that eating and drinking were carried to a point of shocking greediness and made the chief delight of a great part of the population, that feasts began as early as possible in the day and lasted late, that lawlessness and robbery were the rule by night, we no longer can wonder that the famous curfew bell was turned to as a wise police regulation. The king simply reflected upon a similar state of things in Normandy in his early days, where he had brought about necessary law and order by the same determination that every household fire and light should be put out at eight o'clock in winter and sunset in summer and every man must be at home under grave penalties. He had seen the excellent effect of this ringing of the curfew bell, he did not make it out of hand to shame and oppress his new subjects, but for their needed safety and the country's good. But to the freedom-loving Saxon heart, England seemed to be turned by reason of it into a great prison.

Then it was harder still to bear a command that those who lived in the greenwood, in poor hovels of the fens, in outlying districts distant from any neighbors, should go to live in the towns. The folk-land which had held a scattered population was claimed by the king and call *Terra Regis**; the peasants' hovels were swept away, and the small holdings of farmers, even larger properties, all were laid waste to make the king new hunting-grounds. Edward the Confessor was a famous huntsman, it was one if his few manly traits, and he had left sixty-eight royal forests behind him, which nobody seems to have grudged, but the forests that William took were grudged most bitterly. The confiscation of the Hampshire lands was the last stroke that could be borne, and they were promptly dowered with a curse by those who so unwillingly gave them up. The New Forest was dangerous ground for the household of the Conqueror; there was a long-lived and well-founded superstition* that it was a fatal place for

men of the Conqueror's time to take their pleasure in.

We can understand now that great tracts of these English fens and forests were far from being fit for human habitations, and that wide stretches of remote parts of the inland country were only lived in by people who were hardly better than wild animals. The liberty upon which William infringed was often the liberty of the lawless and untamed who in their scattered dens came within no opportunities* of uplifting or enlightenment. They certainly needed to be brought into closer relationship with decent society; there were reasons enough why some of the folk-land should be given up to the hares and deer. "William loved the high deer as if he were their father," says the old Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, but we know besides that he was not unmindful of his people. We find him trying to learn English and succeeding in so far that he could understand what was said. We are told that he was indulgent to those of his own household, "mild to the good men that loved God, but stark* to those who withstand His will." A man of great austerity and power of self-control, he always had respect for law and religion even though he could sometimes turn them to suit his own ends. Even the lawless William Rufus, who feared neither God nor man, revered his father, the great king, and respected his memory.

As one reads the story of the Conqueror's great labors and detailed plans of government it is impossible to believe that he was looking upon England merely as so much territory to be added to his duchy of Normandy. We forget as we read this page of English history that William ruled Normandy too and was carrying on at the same time his great Norman government. It seems as if he had entirely recognized the noble possibilities, indeed the great future, of England, and was setting himself with devoted industry and patience to make it orderly and to give it its proper place among those nations of Europe which it had lagged behind. Not even the strong hand and busy brain of William of Normandy could make England other than England, but his natural conservatism,* his respect for the English laws, and his wonderful understanding of the national lines of growth are indeed surprising. He was too great a statesman not to recognize that his opportunity lay in developing England, not transforming her. He seemed to his indignant and unwilling subjects only a plunderer and oppressor, but England always fared hardest when he was out of it; he was a check upon smaller oppressors, and there were always men who were able to recognize that it was better to have a sovereign like theirs, able to lead and able to discern, than to have sectional jealousies tear England asunder for the glory of petty chiefs.

Although the interlopers* from across the Channel had pulled down English houses they built England's great cathedrals* and the people who flocked to the towns came under law and built new houses and lived in them more like Christians. The Church became significant and enlarged her dominion. So much was asked of the people that they developed new energy in every direction, but in Edward's time a bishop held his great revenues and might live where he chose; under William a bishop swore fealty to the king like other men and must live in the chief city of his own diocese. This meant that the least of the parishes must be better taught and served. There was oppression and cruelty enough in those days, beggary and destitution, and all the sorrows of a conquered people. Many of the Englishmen who were needed at home were forced to become outlaws and exiles, they could not yield, they would not serve nor do homage to the Norman King. There is no more touching page in literature than the scene in Kingsley's story of "Hereward the Wake where the brave young Hereward comes home after long absence and steals into the old manor-house where his mother sits, a widow and childless, plundered and bereft, and then lifts her bent and hooded head to see his face which she had thought never to see again. The soil of England had to be forced into loyalty acre by acre. At last the officers of state and church were Normans almost to a man. They had taken the places of Englishmen not always by force or the King's favor, but sometimes by skill and the right of fitness. Not all those whose names we find, had come over with William but some were men and sons of men who had settled themselves in England years before in the Confessor's time. They could read and keep accounts, they knew the ways of the world, they lived frugally and not greedily, and knowledge always has the advantage of ignorance. England had gone down in the days of her material prosperity and now the world was to see what adversity could do for her. In many respects the Anglo-Saxon race possesses great qualities; stability, perseverance, self-government, industry, are Saxon traits. But the Normans could add to these, imagination and a genius for great enterprises, ideality and a love of fitness and elegance in the arts and in social life. "Without them England would have been mechanical, not artistic; brave, not chivalrous; the home of learning, not of thought."

Notes

*The Latin prefix *sur* is, in English, over, and gives to this word the meaning of a name in addition to, or over and above, the Christian name; the family name. Originally surnames came from the occupation, the home, or some event relating to the person.

*Who was the leader of the Normans, the Cæsar of the Angles.

*The name for beasts of prey in Latin is *rapax*; the verb meaning to seize, to carry off, in the same language is *rapere*. The derived English word rapacity, denotes the quality which disposes to plunder, to seize for one's self, greediness of gain.

*To cover (extinguish) the fire is expressed in French by the words *couvre feu*, which were soon modified into the English curfew.

*Man in the Greek language was called *anthropos*; friend, *philos*. The latter word as an adjective means beloved, dear. Hence the Anglicized word, philanthropy, the love of mankind, readiness to do good to all men.

*Latin for land of the king.

*When one is astonished or amazed over anything the natural tendency is to stand perfectly still; and this is just what superstition means; Latin *stare*, to stand, to stand still; *super*, over. A standing still over something wonderful; an excessive reverence or fear for something mysterious.

*The literal meaning of the word is, at or before the port (Latin *ob* and *portus*). Lying in port a ship's crew has release from many ordinary duties and has comparative leisure. Hence the name is applied to a suitable occasion, a fit time.

*Stiff, unbending, severe, stern.

*Opposition to change. Latin *servare* to guard, *con* against.

*The Dutch name for a coaster, a smuggling vessel ("one that runs in and out along the coast") is *enterlooper*, a word compounded of the French *entre*, between and the Dutch *looper* a runner, a leaper. Interlopers, those who thrust themselves where they have no claim or right.

*The relation between a cathedral and a chair is not evident at first sight. The Latin word for chair is *cathedra*, the Greek *kathedra*. The word chair is often used to designate a seat of authority, as a bishop's chair, the chair of a judge. So *cathedra* meant the seat or throne of a bishop. Hence cathedral, a church containing a bishop's chair.

*Both Bulwer's story of "Harold" and Kingsley's "Hereward" give most vivid pictures of this time, the one of the time immediately before William's coming and the other of his reign itself. -- *S. O. J.*

PART III

The houses of the better class of Englishmen of that day were not imposing structures; from the chronicles we can picture to ourselves the groups of low buildings, usually of wood, where one or two rooms had been added year by year, according to necessity. In good weather people lived in the open air far more than in our own day; there was not a complete system of house existence as we know it now. Then to be under a roof was for some persons an incident*; now it is as exceptional for certain luxurious members of society to go out-of-doors. The northern fashion of living in halls has lately been made to live again in delightful verse by Mr. William Morris in his "House of The Wolfings"; we can see in imagination the huge room where the master of the household had his high seat upon the north side while his people had their places on either hand about the walls, their beds and benches and footstools, with their armor hanging on the wall above. A great fire blazed on the pavement in the middle of the floor and its smoke went out at the openings in the high, carved roof. Hospitality was chief among the virtues and toward the north of England especially there was still something of the old Norse way of living; in fact the great halls or assembling places of old and new English houses are the direct descendants of the ancient common rooms. Little by little in the old days, according to the needs of civilization, rooms were added for store-houses and for workshops and guest-chambers, and at last for those who wished to be alone, until the great halls and their dependencies looked like villages. There was sure to be a strong room for the safe keeping of prisoners among the rest, but we do not get an idea of stateliness and dignity, such as seems to have belonged to the Scandinavian folk-houses.

In every-day life there appears to have been almost unnecessary discomfort; all the rooms must have been cold and dark and smoky, and the servants, with those strangers and wayfarers who had no claim to distinction, slept like dogs in the lower rooms on straw or on the rushes strewn by way of carpet. The high-life in hall, the fashions at table, the rudeness of dress, and

lack of certain minor morals would strike us strangely if they could be reproduced. It is not too much to say that there are people now, living as all except the most comfortable of our ancestors lived and keeping up many of their fashions, in England and in our own city streets, but we think that the Boards of Health cannot keep too close an oversight, nor the messengers of charity work too eagerly for their uplifting and possible amelioration! In Edward the Confessor's time a better mode of life began to reach the apprehension of the more refined, and when it is claimed by the chronicler that the English consumed their substance in mean and despicable houses while the French and Normans lived with frugality in noble and splendid mansions, we understand that great gains had been already made, and that England, to use a homely phrase, had already begun to "live like other people." There is no more justice, after all, in applying our standards to the manner of life, either English or Norman, of those days than in making our modern philanthropy and sympathy for suffering the standards for that age of warfare and cruelty.

England had shared already in the early rise of Romanesque* architecture, and though many of her churches were wooden and not remarkable in any way, there were many built of stone with fine characteristic arches, and even some individuality of ornamentation. There is an unmistakable likeness between these Saxon churches and those of early Italian architecture, and the priests and pilgrims of Durham and Peterborough and Canterbury had already shared in the continental rage for church building. Some of the beautiful, simple towers of pre-Norman times are standing yet; many of the ancient country churches date back in part to the years before the Conquest, in fact, after the great Norman cathedrals were rearing their walls, in the years that followed the Conquest, towers and churches were still built after the old designs.

If England had nothing to show as the result of the Norman Conquest save her cathedrals, one would be tempted to say that she was well repaid for all her hardships. Here on English ground the Norman architects and those English architects who were quick to learn from them, built the most wonderful and beautiful stately roofs and towers and chiseled them into rich tracery as years went by; a noble heritage from church and state, for centuries yet to come, but in the days of their building a means of education and true enlightenment in arts and crafts. So many kinds of knowledge and intelligence must be brought to bear on architecture. Ruskin has said that a great architect must be both painter and sculptor, and it is a marvel to think of the thousands of men besides the planner, who worked in wood and stone and glass and metal to finish the great buildings, learning from their masters and teaching in their turn. We cannot help feeling a great reverence for the church builders of England and for that superstitious faith which wrought so devoutly in what it believed to be the cause of truth and righteousness. We should "regard intolerant religion merely as a mark of imperfect development; its cause the ignorance and timidity of man; its cure, increase of knowledge and safer abundance."*

We have the picture before us of a conservative, self-indulgent, easily prejudiced people; essentially aristocratic in the sense that they paid great court to their leaders and heads of families and took great pride in their wealth and possessions. The true meaning of aristocracy* is easily lost, and comes to signify not the rule of the best but the rule of those who have the most. Such a people as this, who valued their comforts of life more than their means of growth and development, were forced to submit to the presence of another sort of men, scornful, ambitious, greedy also of gain and power, but full of radical and unsettling ideas. They too wished to be great land-holders, and at the Saxons' expense; they meant also to be great builders and laughed much of the primitive architecture to scorn. They ridiculed the huge feasts and the drunkenness and made themselves unwelcome at both fireside and council of state. Their very quickness and ability, their instinct toward manners and style, were aggravating to the Saxon sluggishness and that already well-worn theory of letting well enough alone -- a poor theory to frame character by. It is like reading the story of a self-involved, comfortable household which suddenly has a new inmate thrust upon its affections, a person who is pretentious and bustling, who insists upon new and more exact ways of doing things and laughs at the antiquated *bourgeois* fashions and speech; nay, more! who uproots the tenderest associations and makes light of the household sentiment for the past. All this England had to bear from the Normans, but we may also believe with a glow at our hearts, that there were some men and women among the English who were ready to welcome the intruders, who had bewailed the lack of learning in those ancient cloisters where the venerated Bæda and his fellow scholars studied and taught; men and women who were ashamed of England's great crops and crimson and gold

embroidered stuffs of the loom and needle, and ashamed of her great feasts since Wisdom went so poorly clad and was housed in a hovel. One likes to think that there were some who held to higher aims, who were glad to have the Normans come, if only they would rouse a lazy England with whip and spur. England must no longer be great in little things and eminent for her commonplaceness; now she must learn from Lanfranc of Pavia the lessons that Italy could teach, and from Norman William a northern power of doing the things that were to be done.

When Duke William heard the news of Earl Harold's being crowned king of the English, he left the chase and went home to his castle hall in Rouen, and his retainers followed in silence, watching with curious eyes his excitement and restlessness. Nobody dared to ask what misfortune had befallen him. He leaned his head against a stone pillar and covered his face with his cloak. "Long before in the old Norse halls where the Vikings lived together, if a man were sick or sorry or wished for any reason to be undisturbed he sat on his own bench in hall and covered his head with his cloak; there was no room in which he could be alone, and after this old custom William's court in a later day left him to his thought." I repeat this passage from my "Story of the Normans," because the incident always strikes me as being full of significance. Here was an ancient custom of the earliest Saga times still instinctive in William the Conqueror; the plain country woman of our own day who throws her apron over her head as she sits silent among her people, makes it a signal of deep disturbance of mind and claims by it a sort of seclusion far more striking than if she went away by herself. There seems to be evidence of a profound self-consciousness and determined thought which the loud outcries and excitement of shallower minds never show; it is the trait of a different nature; the germ of great projects and achievements is in that power of withdrawal from one's surroundings, and in demanding respect for such withdrawal. "William was a man of mickle thought and deep speech," says the chronicle. England has been the mother country of such men in the years that she has been coming to her greatness and power, it is her northern blood still stirring in her veins.

One of the conqueror's clearest intentions was to bring England under strict government. She already had her parliament, her Witanagemot, or meeting of wise men, who considered the country's needs and petitions, and "with the king sat in Winchester at Easter and in Westminster at Pentecost, and in Gloucester at Christmas-tide." The places of the English were taken by Normans; it appeared as if every thing English were to be swept away; but the real effect of these first years after the Conquest was to turn both foreigners and natives into Englishmen.

The horror that fell upon English hearts at the news of William's great survey of England, and its record, which the world knows as Domesday Book, strikes a student to-day with mingled pity and amusement. William certainly needed to know the military strength of the country, as the chief of its armies; as a prudent governor he must have records of the population and the resources of the landholders. His deputies went over England "to know how this land was set and of what men," and made careful survey of every man's land, setting down who had been the former owner under Edward, establishing titles, and hearing complaints. The exasperated people supposed themselves insulted and outraged, as if the great census were nothing more than a method for making taxation easier and more rewarding to the king. It was to them a heart-rending forerunner of thievery and extortion, but to us it marks a step upward in the condition of England and English government. In 1086 when, after the great survey was finished, William gathered his subjects out of the whole country to the plain of Salisbury and every landholder and man of influence swore fealty to him, it was a great day for England. In the fact that every man held his lands direct from the king and that his duty to the king over-ruled his duty to any under lord lay a sure promise of well-being and safety. On that day the unity of England's national power was welded, the common people had become of consequence, they had a clear way opened before them to better things. The strong hand that since the bloody fight at Senlac had often seemed only to crush and to check, had in reality removed many hindrances. The horrible slave trade of Bristol was stopped, there were no longer any thralls who were sold with the land, or even bound in feudal fashion to serve the selfish ends of their masters. There was a certain sense in which William was not a man of blood, he dared in that early time to forbid capital punishment, though in the later reigns of his successors, not long before our time, a man might be hanged for sheep stealing. The stories of war are always sorry reading, and those of the Conqueror's time are no exception with their truly Oriental recklessness of human life. If a man were a danger and terror to the community, if he were vile and despicable, he was put out of mischief by having his eyes torn out, or his thievish hands cut off, and was turned out into the world to

wander at the world's mercy, but in William's reign the taking of life in cold blood as punishment for crime was forbidden.

In many ways the people of England learned slowly that they had become responsible to a stable government; they were impelled to steady thrift in order to meet steady demands for national purposes. No advance can be made toward national or personal breadth of view, largeness of character, true prosperity of any sort, without pain and stress; those must lose something who would win more, and must put down a small thing that is in hand if they would take up a larger. All the poverty and suffering of England in those dark days was the price of great advance and of gaining a steadfast and permanent place among the nations of the earth. What William with increasing avarice wrung from the country for his own satisfaction must be forgiven him, both his Great Hoard at Winchester and all his grasping ways. It is well to remember that his score of years in England was no holiday. Only those who are rulers know the unreckoned restraints and lack of personal liberty to which they are made subject. No one citizen is the servant of his king to the degree in which the king is the servant of the citizen.

So the churls of England, and the very thralls, their bondmen, came to own themselves Englishmen, instead of the harassed and unrewarded vassals of a petty over lord, and had a king who was a king indeed. They had taken oath to the crown, and the crown would remain when he who wore it that day at Salisbury had long been dust in a Norman crypt or scattered to the Norman winds. The future of the English nation was shaped for it in William's reign; if he had lived long enough to begin in Ireland what he had begun in England, the state of that unhappy country would have been far better. We can see in her history what England might have been save for William the Conqueror.

There is a great proportion of names of Norman descent in every list of English colonists and adventurers by land and sea. They came to America, they went to Australia, they were among the New Englanders who hurried first to California in 1849; they make the positive side of society, the reformers, the seekers for new truths, they are still the leaders of those who speak the English tongue. The possibility of apathy and short-sightedness, and of relapse into too comfortable and casual habits of life always lurks in the national character; there have always been times when England has grown dull and blindly prudent -- and then comes the cry for the old Norman pride, bright, fierce, enthusiastic, ready to listen to the voices and responsive to the call of visions.

Those who instinctively take the Anglo-Saxon side in discussing the movements of this great epoch would have students of history believe that it is throughout, a noble Saxon development, and that William and his followers came under its influence to their great enlightenment and advantage. This is true, but it is not the whole truth; Saxon England alone never would have reached great results of national life and character. It was to having her share of that rekindling of light in the far North that England's real advance was due, that spark of quickening fire and new beginning of intellectual force in the countries of the Saga heroes and the Saga writers. One thinks of it with the mysterious,* white flickering of the Aurora Borealis*; one remembers with awe the fury and pride and masterful personality of those rough Vikings who made themselves a new home in the pleasant land of Normandy, and drew to themselves whatever of good they found, "giving," as has been said, "a soul to the body of letters and art which awaited them"; giving to the character of their adopted language something which has made it the language of polite society for nearly a thousand years; giving to England the great gift of their traits as governors, their high courage, their mastery of the duties of soldiers and scholars and builders. For themselves their fault of treachery was rebuked by Saxon honesty, and their shallow quickness by Saxon painstaking, their fickleness by Saxon loyalty and steadfastness.

Still, as we regard the dark and stormy years of the English Conquest, the figure of Norman William grows again distinct, and a mournful figure it was in the latest months of his great and significant reign. He had set an example, rare enough in that licentious age, of proverbially pure and sober life, he had uncommon virtues for his day and generation. People called him extortionate, people called him cruel, his own conscience was sharp within him as he lay on his death bed. But when all is said that can be said of any unrighteous advantage that he took as victor with his spoils, of harshness incident to conquest and antagonism in that cruel, almost merciless age, we must own that he was truly the benefactor of the country over which he came to rule. We must judge that sovereignty of England at its best, not in its decadence when he grew weak and spent and old. There were temporary aspects of his later reign that were anything but admirable, but the general trend of his statesmanship was that of a master and a

true king. His own conception of the powers of a united England and his final success in inspiring his subjects with this conception, made the re-created nation, after the twenty-one years of his reign, like a young man who has reached his majority and who steps forward equal to many hardships and to the control and maintenance* of his own life and affairs. The England that William the Norman organized out of such opposed, reluctant* materials has held its own against the world from the day he died his sorrowful death in Rouen until now.

Notes

*A falling upon, Latin *cadere*, to fall, *in*, upon. The word is used in two ways which Webster distinguishes as follows: "That which usually falls out or takes place," and "That which happens aside from the main design."

*Like the Roman. The word is Englished from the Italian *romanesco*, where the suffix is from the Latin *iscos*, Greek *iskos*, which corresponds to the English *ish*.

*Parton's "Life of Voltaire." -- *S. O. J.*

*Greek *aristos*, best, *kratein*, to rule, whence the compound *aristokratia*, the rule of the best born nobles.

*Tracing backward the history of the noun from which this adjective is derived, it is found used first (probably) in English, in Wiclif's translation of the Bible (Rom. xvi. 25), where it is translated from the Latin *mysterium*, which in its turn was derived from the same word in the Greek passage, *musterion*. The Greeks successively developed the word from *mustos*, one who is initiated, *muein*, to initiate into the mysterious; *mu*, a slight sound with closed lips. So the origin of the word is found in the imitation of closing the lips.

*[Au-ro'ra bo-re-al'is] The Latin expression for Northern Lights; Aurora, from the Greek *eos*, meaning dawn; Borealis an adjective from Boreas, the name of the north wind.

*The English borrowed the word from the French who compounded the verb *maintenir* from their words for hand, *main*, and to hold, *tenir*. The French borrowed these two words from the Latin tongue where they appear as *manus* and *tenere*.

*A wrestling, a struggle, the Romans called *lucta*, and the corresponding verb was *luctari*. Prefixing *re* they had *reluctari*, to struggle against.

Editor's Notes

Part 1

… but what is tragical: from Charles Kingsley's *Works*, Volume 3 (1883), *Hereward, The Last of the English*, p. 6. Originally published as *Hereward the Wake* (1865). The passage in which Hereward returns to his mother, to which Jewett refers, is in Chapter 19, pp. 184-5.

William of Malmesbury … lived with frugality: See *The Library of Original Sources*: Volume IV (Early Mediaeval Age) 2004, compiled by Oliver J. Thatcher, for William of Malmsbury's "Saxons and Normans." This quotation appears on p. 387.

Bæda: See Wikipedia for a sketch of the life and works of Saint Bede (672/673 – 735).

Freeman's "Norman Conquest": See Jewett's Sources for details about Freeman. The quotation for Jewett's note is from v. 1 (1873), p. 491.

Green's "Short History of the English People": See Jewett's Sources for details about Green. The quotation for Jewett's note appears on p. 70. Jewett has slightly altered the text.

Part 2

"*qui dux Normannis … has won a right to a higher place*": These quotations appear in Freeman's William the Conqueror (1888), pp. 199-200. For the Latin, see also Freeman, The Norman Conquest, v. 4, p. 99. See Jewett's Sources

Dr. Chambers: See, *The Renewal of Life* (4th edition, 1866), by Thomas King Chambers, p. v.

loved the high deer as if he were their father: This quotation appears in multiple sources to which Jewett had access. Thorpe's translation varies slightly, p. 190. See Jewett's Sources.

"home of learning, not of thought": Arthur Henry Johnson, *The Normans in Europe*, p. 166. See Jewett's Sources.

Bulwer's story ... Kingsley: See above for Kingsley's *Hereward*. See Jewett's Sources for information on Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *Harold* (1848).

Part 3

William Morris …. "House of the Wolfings": William Morris (1834-1896). *A Tale of the House of the Wolfings and All the Kindreds of the Mark* appeared in 1889

Ruskin: See John Ruskin's *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*. The quotation may be found in *The Works of John Ruskin*,(1885) Volume 7, p. 93.

William ... mickle thought and deep speech: This is quoted in Freeman (1873), volume 4, p. 469. See Jewett's Sources.

*with the king sat in Winchester at Easte*r: While these facts are partly confirmed in numerous sources, the exact quotation has not been located. See for example: *The Bishops of Winchester in the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman Periods* (1877) by Thomas Hervey, p. 213.

"*…how this land was set and of what men"*: From Freeman's *William the Conqueror* (1888) pp. 184-85. See Jewett's Sources.

Oriental recklessness of human life: Like the terms "oriental despotism" and "oriental cruelty," this term implies that Asians are, by nature, savages, when compared to Europeans. Whether Jewett intended this cliche to carry such a meaning is open to debate.

churls... thralls ... bondmen: Churls are medieval English peasants. Thralls, bondmen, are owned, like slaves.

1849: Referring to the California gold rush.

"*a soul to the body of letters and art which awaited them*": This quotation has not been located.

intolerant religion: Jewett's note indicates this quotation is from Parton's *Life of Voltaire*. It may be found in volume 2, p. 168.

The Story of the Normans and The Story of the Nations

Description of the Series

The Stories of the Nations is a series of books offering popular histories of nations and peoples. Wikipedia says that series was founded in 1885 by London publisher T. Fisher Unwin. That Unwin was the originator of the series is confirmed in a profile that appears in *The Publisher's Circular* (1415, August 1893, pp. 168-70). When the series began is less clear. According to listings in WorldCat, two of the series volumes appeared before 1885:

Germany, Sabine Baring-Gould, 1834-1924, New York, G.P. Putnam's sons; London, T.F. Unwin, 1882.

Rome: From the earliest times to the end of the Republic, Arthur Gilman, 1837-1909, Unwin 1883 (2nd edition), Putnam's 1885.

However, it seems likely that both are cataloging errors. Baring-Gould published a 2-volume history of Germany beginning in 1879, and the 1886 copyright series volume lists Arthur Gilman as collaborator and is originally titled, *The Story of Germany*. The Google book of Gilman's *Rome*, an 1888 reprint, is copyrighted 1885 and contains an 1885 preface by Gilman. However, though this volume clearly is identified as part of the series in publicity documents, it lacks the prospectus and title list that appear in all of the other Putnam's volumes I have examined. Indeed, nothing in the book indicates that it belongs to the series. These details may suggest that the first edition was published in Great Britain before the series was officially under way.

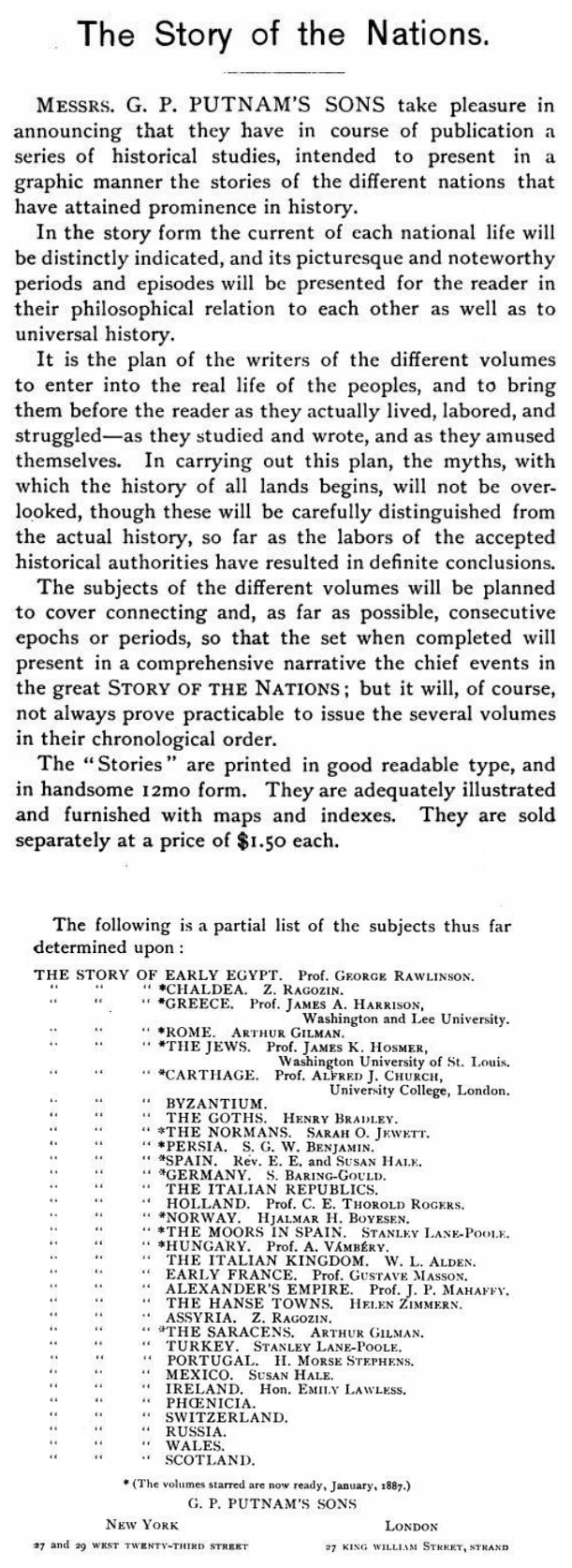
The earliest American announcement of the series I have located is an ad in *Publishers Weekly* of September 26, 1885. It seems clear that the series was fully under way by 1885, when four volumes officially in the series were printed. Thirteen more titles appeared in 1886-7.

The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography entry on T. Fisher Unwin says that Unwin conceived of the series to speak to his interests in internationalism, liberalism, free trade, and justice for persecuted minorities.

The prospectus below explains the publisher's apparently final intentions for the series: a collection of popular histories for the general public. To date, little information about the "rules" for the series has been uncovered, though it is likely more facts will be found. It would be of particular interest to be able to see the instructions the publishers provided for authors of the series. Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen in his preface to *The Story of Norway* (1886) offers insight into publisher guidelines:

> It has been my ambition for many years to write a history of Norway, chiefly because no such book, worthy of the name, exists in the

Prospectus from the 1887 Putnam edition of *The Story of the Normans*



The Story of the Nations.

MESSRS. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS take pleasure in announcing that they have in course of publication a series of historical studies, intended to present in a graphic manner the stories of the different nations that have attained prominence in history.

In the story form the current of each national life will be distinctly indicated, and its picturesque and noteworthy periods and episodes will be presented for the reader in their philosophical relation to each other as well as to universal history.

It is the plan of the writers of the different volumes to enter into the real life of the peoples, and to bring them before the reader as they actually lived, labored, and struggled—as they studied and wrote, and as they amused themselves. In carrying out this plan, the myths, with which the history of all lands begins, will not be overlooked, though these will be carefully distinguished from the actual history, so far as the labors of the accepted historical authorities have resulted in definite conclusions.

The subjects of the different volumes will be planned to cover connecting and, as far as possible, consecutive epochs or periods, so that the set when completed will present in a comprehensive narrative the chief events in the great STORY OF THE NATIONS; but it will, of course, not always prove practicable to issue the several volumes in their chronological order.

The "Stories" are printed in good readable type, and in handsome 12mo form. They are adequately illustrated and furnished with maps and indexes. They are sold separately at a price of $1.50 each.

The following is a partial list of the subjects thus far determined upon:

THE STORY OF EARLY EGYPT. Prof. GEORGE RAWLINSON.
" " " *CHALDEA. Z. RAGOZIN.
" " " *GREECE. Prof. JAMES A. HARRISON, Washington and Lee University.
" " " *ROME. ARTHUR GILMAN.
" " " *THE JEWS. Prof. JAMES K. HOSMER, Washington University of St. Louis.
" " " *CARTHAGE. Prof. ALFRED J. CHURCH, University College, London.
" " " BYZANTIUM.
" " " THE GOTHS. HENRY BRADLEY.
" " " *THE NORMANS. SARAH O. JEWETT.
" " " *PERSIA. S. G. W. BENJAMIN.
" " " *SPAIN. Rev. E. E. and SUSAN HALE.
" " " *GERMANY. S. BARING-GOULD.
" " " THE ITALIAN REPUBLICS.
" " " HOLLAND. Prof. C. E. THOROLD ROGERS.
" " " *NORWAY. HJALMAR H. BOYESEN.
" " " *THE MOORS IN SPAIN. STANLEY LANE-POOLE.
" " " *HUNGARY. Prof. A. VÁMBÉRY.
" " " THE ITALIAN KINGDOM. W. L. ALDEN.
" " " EARLY FRANCE. Prof. GUSTAVE MASSON.
" " " ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE. Prof. J. P. MAHAFFY.
" " " THE HANSE TOWNS. HELEN ZIMMERN.
" " " ASSYRIA. Z. RAGOZIN.
" " " *THE SARACENS. ARTHUR GILMAN.
" " " TURKEY. STANLEY LANE-POOLE.
" " " PORTUGAL. H. MORSE STEPHENS.
" " " MEXICO. SUSAN HALE.
" " " IRELAND. Hon. EMILY LAWLESS.
" " " PHŒNICIA.
" " " SWITZERLAND.
" " " RUSSIA.
" " " WALES.
" " " SCOTLAND.

* (The volumes starred are now ready, January, 1887.)

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

NEW YORK — 27 and 29 WEST TWENTY-THIRD STREET

LONDON — 27 KING WILLIAM STREET, STRAND

English language. When the publishers of the present series of "The Stories of the Nations" proposed to me to write the "story " of my native land, I therefore eagerly accepted their offer. The "story," however, according to their plan, was to differ in some important respects from a regular history. It was to dwell particularly upon the dramatic phases of historical events, and concern itself but slightly with the growth of institutions and sociological phenomena. It therefore necessarily takes small account of proportion. In the present volume more space is given to the national hero, Olaf Tryggvesson, whose brief reign was crowded with dramatic events, than to kings who reigned ten times as long. For the same reason the four centuries of the Union with Denmark are treated with comparative brevity. (v)

The prospectus states that readers should expect distinctions between national myths and historical fact, and that each volume will attempt to capture the character of the "nation" in the epoch being examined, to present a coherent portrait and to place that portrait within "universal history." Presumably, then, those who conceived of and directed the publication of the series believed there was a coherent narrative of universal human history that would be reflected in the various volumes, a "great story of the nations."

Contents and Longevity

The lists of titles below show that the series continued to grow and the books remained in print at least through 1921. A survey of the series as listed in WorldCat shows that the final title was Emile Cammaerts, *Belgium* 1921. After that date, the series gradually went out of print, only one title being reprinted in the 1921-1930 period.

The lists reveal that the publishers and reading public defined the term "nation" more broadly than is generally the case in the early 21st century. Included on the list are groups we would differentiate as empires, nation states, regions, peoples or ethnicities, tribes, religions, and city-states. Jewett, for example, follows the Normans from their historical origins as a seafaring people in Scandinavia through their emergence as a highly mixed group of tribal peoples that were named Normans after colonizing northern France and who then

disappeared as they merged with the peoples of the areas they conquered in France, Italy and England. She argues that they created a heritage of characteristic attitudes that persisted after them, asserting that modern Western civilization, particularly in Victorian England and the United States, manifests this heritage. How would 21st-century readers categorize the Normans? As a people? perhaps a tribe?

While consideration of Africa apart from Mediterranean regions or of the pre-Columbian Americas is not a major feature, some of the volumes give attention to these peoples. Especially notable is Susan Hale's *The Story of Mexico,* (1888) which deals mainly with pre-colonial peoples of the region. Thomas C. Dawson's two-volume *The South American Republics* also provides some account of indigenous peoples before European colonization (Vol 1 ; Vol 2). See also *The West Indies : a history of the islands of the West Indian Archipelago, together with an account of their physical characteristics, natural resources, and present condition*, by Amos Kidder Fiske 1842-1921. New York : Putnam's, 1911, ©1899. George M. Theal's volume, *Southern Africa*, though focused on the history of colonization, gives some attention to precolonial peoples.

(WorldCat has no listing for *Southern Africa* by Theal, but lists both *South Africa* and *The Story of South Africa* as published by Putnam's in 1894.)

After 1905 four more titles appeared

Greece, from the coming of the Hellenes to A.D. 14, Evelyn S. Shuckburgh, 1843-1906, Unwin 1905, Putnam's 1906.

The Roman empire, B.C. 29-A.D. 476, Henry Stuart Jones, 1867-1939, Unwin 1908, Putnam's 1908.

Denmark and Sweden: with Iceland and Finland. Jón Stefánsson, 1862-1952, Unwin, 1916, Putnam's 1917.

Belgium from the Roman invasion to the present day. Emile Cammaerts 1878-1953, Unwin, 1921

There are several differences between the Unwin and the Putnam's title lists.

Books that appeared under significantly different titles.

Over the almost three decades of the series, many titles were simplified, as was Jewett's from *The Story of the Normans* in 1887 to *The Normans* in 1891. "The Story of ____" may have reflected the early idea that the series would be addressed to younger readers, but the longer titles also clearly identified each volume with the popular series. This may explain why Jewett's book continued to be reprinted under both titles after 1891. Several titles, however, were changed more radically.

Title List from Putnam's Final 1905 Printing of *The Normans* -- 68 titles

THE STORY OF THE NATIONS

GREECE. Prof. Jas. A. Harrison.
ROME. Arthur Gilman.
THE JEWS. Prof. James K. Hosmer.
CHALDEA. Z. A. Ragozin.
GERMANY. S. Baring-Gould.
NORWAY. Hjalmar H. Boyesen.
SPAIN. Rev. E. E. and Susan Hale.
HUNGARY. Prof. A. Vámbéry.
CARTHAGE. Prof. Alfred J. Church.
THE SARACENS. Arthur Gilman.
THE MOORS IN SPAIN. Stanley Lane-Poole.
THE NORMANS. Sarah Orne Jewett.
PERSIA. S. G. W. Benjamin.
ANCIENT EGYPT. Prof. Geo. Rawlinson.
ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE. Prof. J. P. Mahaffy.
ASSYRIA. Z. A. Ragozin.
THE GOTHS. Henry Bradley.
IRELAND. Hon. Emily Lawless.
TURKEY. Stanley Lane-Poole.
MEDIA, BABYLON, AND PERSIA. Z. A. Ragozin.
MEDIÆVAL FRANCE. Prof. Gustave Masson.
HOLLAND. Prof. J. Thorold Rogers.
MEXICO. Susan Hale.
PHŒNICIA. George Rawlinson.
THE HANSA TOWNS. Helen Zimmern.
EARLY BRITAIN. Prof. Alfred J. Church.
THE BARBARY CORSAIRS. Stanley Lane-Poole.
RUSSIA. W. R. Morfill.
THE JEWS UNDER ROME. W. D. Morrison.
SCOTLAND. John Mackintosh.
SWITZERLAND. R. Stead and Mrs. A. Hug.
PORTUGAL. H. Morse-Stephens.
THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE. C. W. C. Oman.
SICILY. E. A. Freeman.
THE TUSCAN REPUBLICS Bella Duffy.
POLAND. W. R. Morfill.
PARTHIA. Geo. Rawlinson.
JAPAN. David Murray.
THE CHRISTIAN RECOVERY OF SPAIN. H. E. Watts.
AUSTRALASIA. Greville Tregarthen.
SOUTHERN AFRICA. Geo. M. Theal.
VENICE. Alethea Wiel.
THE CRUSADES. T. S. Archer and C. L. Kingsford.
VEDIC INDIA. Z. A. Ragozin.
BOHEMIA. C. E. Maurice.
CANADA. J. G. Bourinot.
THE BALKAN STATES. William Miller.
BRITISH RULE IN INDIA. R. W. Frazer.
MODERN FRANCE. André Le Bon.
THE BRITISH EMPIRE. Alfred T. Story. Two vols.
THE FRANKS. Lewis Sergeant.
THE WEST INDIES. Amos K. Fiske.
THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND. Justin McCarthy, M.P. Two vols.
AUSTRIA. Sidney Whitman.
CHINA. Robt. K. Douglass.
MODERN SPAIN. Major Martin A. S. Hume.
MODERN ITALY. Pietro Orsi.
THE THIRTEEN COLONIES. Helen A. Smith. Two vols.
WALES AND CORNWALL. Owne M. Edwards. Net $1.35.
MEDIÆVAL ROME. Wm. Miller.
THE PAPAL MONARCHY. Wm. Barry.
MEDIÆVAL INDIA. Stanley Lane-Poole.
BUDDHIST INDIA. T. W. Rhys-Davids.
THE SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS. Thomas C. Dawson. Two vols.
PARLIAMENTARY ENGLAND. Edward Jenks.
MEDIÆVAL ENGLAND. Mary Bateson.
THE UNITED STATES. Edward Earle Sparks. Two vols.
ENGLAND. THE COMING OF PARLIAMENT. L. Cecil Jane.

Below is the title list appearing in the Cammaerts, *Belgium* 1921

THE STORY OF THE NATIONS

1. **Rome.** By ARTHUR GILMAN, M.A.
2. **The Jews.** By Prof. J. K. HOSMER.
3. **Germany.** By Rev. S. BARING-GOULD, M.A.
4. **Carthage.** By Prof. ALFRED J. CHURCH.
5. **Alexander's Empire.** By Prof. J. P. MAHAFFY.
6. **The Moors in Spain.** By STANLEY LANE-POOLE.
7. **Ancient Egypt.** By Prof. GEORGE RAWLINSON.
8. **Hungary.** By Prof. ARMINIUS VAMBERY.
9. **The Saracens.** By ARTHUR GILMAN, M.A.
10. **Ireland.** By the Hon. EMILY LAWLESS.
11. **Chaldea.** By ZÉNAÏDE A. RAGOZIN.
12. **The Goths.** By HENRY BRADLEY.
13. **Assyria.** By ZÉNAÏDE A. RAGOZIN.
14. **Turkey.** By STANLEY LANE-POOLE.
15. **Holland.** By Prof. J. E. THOROLD ROGERS.
16. **Mediæval France.** By GUSTAVE MASSON.
17. **Persia.** By S. G. W. BENJAMIN.
18. **Phœnicia.** By Prof. G. RAWLINSON.
19. **Media.** By ZÉNAÏDE A. RAGOZIN.
20. **The Hansa Towns.** By HELEN ZIMMERN.
21. **Early Britain.** By Prof. ALFRED J. CHURCH.
22. **The Barbary Corsairs.** By STANLEY LANE-POOLE.
23. **Russia.** By W. R. MORFILL, M.A.
24. **The Jews under the Romans.** By W. D. MORRISON.
25. **Scotland.** By JOHN MACKINTOSH, LL.D.
26. **Switzerland.** By Mrs. LINA HUG and R. STEAD.
27. **Mexico.** By SUSAN HALE.
28. **Portugal.** By H. MORSE STEPHENS.
29. **The Normans.** By SARAH ORME JEWETT.
30. **The Byzantine Empire.** By C. W. C. OMAN.
31. **Sicily: Phœnician, Greek and Roman.** By the Prof. E. A. FREEMAN.
32. **The Tuscan Republics.** By BELLA DUFFY.
33. **Poland.** By W. R. MORFILL, M.A.
34. **Parthia.** By Prof. GEORGE RAWLINSON.
35. **The Australian Commonwealth.** By GREVILLE TREGARTHEN.
36. **Spain.** By H. E. WATTS.
37. **Japan.** By DAVID MURRAY, Ph.D.
38. **South Africa.** By GEORGE M. THEAL.
39. **Venice.** By ALETHEA WIEL.
40. **The Crusades.** By T. A. ARCHER and C. L. KINGSFORD.
41. **Vedic India.** By Z. A. RAGOZIN.
42. **The West Indies and the Spanish Main.** By JAMES RODWAY.
43. **Bohemia.** By C. EDMUND MAURICE.
44. **The Balkans.** By W. MILLER, M.A.
45. **Canada.** By Sir J. G. BOURINOT, LL.D.
46. **British India.** By R. W. FRAZER, LL.B.
47. **Modern France.** By ANDRÉ LE BON.
48. **The Franks.** By LEWIS SERGEANT.
49. **Austria.** By SIDNEY WHITMAN.
50. **Modern England.** Before the Reform Bill. By JUSTIN MCCARTHY.
51. **China.** By Prof. R. K. DOUGLAS.
52. **Modern England.** From the Reform Bill to the Present Time. By JUSTIN MCCARTHY.
53. **Modern Spain.** By MARTIN A. S. HUME.
54. **Modern Italy.** By PIETRO ORSI.
55. **Norway.** By H. H. BOYESEN.
56. **Wales.** By O. M. EDWARDS.
57. **Mediæval Rome.** By W. MILLER, M.A.
58. **The Papal Monarchy.** By WILLIAM BARRY, D.D.
59. **Mediæval India under Mohammedan Rule.** By STANLEY LANE-POOLE.
60. **Buddhist India.** By Prof. T. W. RHYS-DAVIDS.
61. **Parliamentary England.** By EDWARD JENKS, M.A.
62. **Mediæval England.** By MARY BATESON.
63. **The Coming of Parliament.** By L CECIL JANE.
64. **The Story of Greece.** From the Earliest Times to A.D. 14. By E. S. SHUCKBURGH.
65. **The Story of the Roman Empire.** (B.C. 29 to A.D. 476.) By H. STUART JONES.
66. **Denmark and Sweden,** with Iceland and Finland. By JON STEFANSSON, Ph.D.
67. **Belgium.** From the Roman Invasion to the Present Day. By EMILE CAMMAERTS.

LONDON: T. FISHER UNWIN, LTD., 1 ADELPHI TERRACE

Henry Edward Watts, *The Christian Recovery of Spain* (Putnam's 1893) was also *Spain* (Unwin 1894).

Justin McCarthy *The People of England* (Putnam's, volume 1 copyright 1898; volume 2 1899) was also *Modern England Before the Reform Bill* (Unwin, copyright 1888) and *Modern England: From the Reform Bill to the Present Time* (Unwin, Copyright 1899).

Greville Tregarthen *Australasia*: *New South Wales, Tasmania, Western Australia, South Australia, Victoria, Queensland, New Zealand* (Putnam's 1894) was also *The Australian Commonwealth* (Unwin 1894).

Titles published by Putnam's, but not by Unwin.

James Albert Harrison, *The Story of Greece* 1885

Edward Everett and Susan Hale, *The Story of Spain* 1886

Alfred T. Story, *The Building of the British Empire.* 2 v. 1898

Amos Kidder Fiske, *The West Indies.* 1899

Helen A. Smith*, The Thirteen Colonies.* 1901

Thomas C. Dawson, *The South American Republics*. 2 v. 1903

Edwin Erle Sparks, *The United States of America.* 2 v. 1904 Probably v. 1; v. 2

(Note that the Putnam's title list gives his name as Edward Earle Sparks.)

Titles published by Unwin, but not by Putnam's

James Rodway, *The West Indies and the Spanish Main*. Unwin 1896

Emile Cammaerts*, Belgium from the Roman Invasion to the Present Day*. Unwin, 1921

Titles that Unwin delayed publishing in England

Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen, *The Story of Norway*. Putnam's 1886, Unwin 1899

Sarah Orne Jewett, *The Story of the Normans*. Putnam's 1887, Unwin 1891

It appears that Unwin was conservative about accepting titles first published by Putnam's. This is reflected both in the number of Putnam's titles that Unwin did not print and in the two titles Unwin delayed publishing. One may speculate that some of these choices arose from uneasiness about the early decision, later retracted, to market the series to young readers. Harrison's *The Story of Greece* deals primarily with Classical Greece, while Shuckburgh focuses on Hellenistic Greece, and Harrison's text was among the earliest in the series, representing a serious but not well-reviewed attempt to address younger readers (see review below).

Boyesen's *Norway* ends with the original Putnam's prospectus, which states that the target audience for the series is young readers, and as noted above, his "preface" indicates that he made concessions to such readers, deviating from conventional historical narrative. Likewise, the Hales' *Spain* explicitly addressed young readers:

> It has been, therefore, a part of our plan in following the Story of Spain, to refer, from chapter to chapter, to such illustrations from the writings of various authors of different countries, as might

interest young readers and tempt them to follow, not only the history of Spain in its chronological order, but the series of writings which in romance, in poetry, and in other literature we owe to her suggestions. (vi)

In a letter of 12/17/1890, G. H. Putnam wrote to Jewett that "Mr. Unwin, the London publisher of the 'Story of the Nations' series, has finally offered to take a set of the plates of the 'Story of the Normans' ...." That Unwin has "finally offered" suggests that Putnam had some difficulty persuading Unwin that Jewett's title would be successful in England. Another hint of this difficulty is that Unwin chose *The Normans* as number 29 in the British series, whereas it had been chosen perhaps at the inauguration of the American series and published eleventh or twelfth.

For a discussion of differences between Rodway and Fiske on the West Indies, see Karen Fog Olwig, *Small Islands, Large Questions: Society, Culture and Resistance in the Post-Emancipation Caribbean* (New York: Frank Cass, 1995), 16-7.

The Story of the Normans within the Series

The Story of the Normans appeared near the beginning of the Putnam's series, The Story of the Nations. The first printing in early 1887 lists seventeen volumes. The prospectus for the series in the 1887 volume announced that twelve titles were currently available. Ten or eleven of these appear to have been completed and published before Jewett's title.

The list below of the titles advertised as available in the 1887 edition confirms that the series was inaugurated in 1885, with books on Greece and on the Jews. Several in the series appeared in 1886, making it likely that Jewett was able to look at more than one as she was completing what, for her, was a new kind of writing. She sent her final copy to Putnam's in December of 1886.

WorldCat provides publication dates

for the additional sixteen titles from the 1887 edition list.

Many of the volumes in the series are available on-line.

The Story of Rome, Gilman, Arthur, 1837-1909. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1886 (copyright 1885).

The Story of the Jews: ancient, mediæval, and modern, Hosmer, James K. 1834-1927. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1885.

The Story of Greece, Harrison, James Albert, 1848-1911. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1885.

The Story of Carthage, Church, Alfred John, 1829-1912. Gilman, Arthur, New York, London, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1885.

The Story of Chaldea, from the Earliest times to the Rise of Assyria (treated as a general introduction to the study of ancient history), Ragozin, Zénaïde A. 1835-1924. New York, Putnam, 1886.

The Story of Germany, Baring-Gould, S. 1834-1924. Gilman, Arthur, New York & London, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1886

The Story of Norway, Boyesen, Hjalmar Hjorth, 1848-1895. New York London, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1886.

The Story of Spain, Hale, Edward Everett, Sr., 1822-1909. Hale, Susan, New York, London, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1886.

The Story of Hungary, Vámbéry, Ármin, 1832-1913. Heilprin, Louis, New York, London, G.P. Putnam, 1886.

The Story of the Saracens, from the Earliest times to the Fall of Bagdad, Gilman, Arthur, 1837-1909. New York, London, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1891, ©1886.

The Moors in Spain, Lane-Poole, Stanley, 1854-1931. Gilman, Arthur, New York And London, G.P. Putnam's Sons 1888. ©1886. WorldCat lists the London, T. Fisher Unwin edition as appearing in 1886.

***The Story of the Normans*, Jewett, Sarah Orne, 1849-1909. New York, G. P. Putnam's sons, 1887, ©1886.**

The Story of Persia, Benjamin, S. G. W. 1837-1914. New York and London, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1887.

The Story of Ancient Egypt, Rawlinson, George, 1812-1902. Gilman, Arthur, New York, London, G.P. Putnam, 1887.

The Story of Alexander's Empire, Mahaffy, John P. New York: Putnam, 1887.

The Story of Assyria from the Rise of the Empire to the fall of Nineveh: continued from "The Story of Chaldea," Ragozin, Zénaïde A. 1835-1924. New York; London: G.P. Putnam's sons, 1887.

The Story of the Goths from the earliest times to the end of the Gothic dominion in Spain. Bradley, Henry, 1845-1923. New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1888. WorldCat lists a London, T. Fisher Unwin edition as appearing in 1887.

Authors in the Series

Though many of the authors were professional historians, others chosen for this series come from a variety of backgrounds. A number, like Jewett, lacked training as historians, but were successful writers who brought personal experience and interest to their projects. Following are sketches of a selection of the authors, emphasizing those who were not academic historians.

Mary Bateson (1865-1906) Wikipedia

Perhaps the only woman author in the series who was an academic historian, Bateson was the author of *Medieval England* (1903), the volume that took up the history of England after the Norman conquest.

Samuel Greene Wheeler Benjamin (1837-1914) Wikipedia

Author of *Persia* 1887, Benjamin was born in Greece of American missionaries. He was a journalist and author who served two years (1883-4) as the first American Minister to Persia. He also wrote *Art in America*: *a Critical and Historical Sketch* 1880.

Sir John George Bourinot (1836-1902) Wikipedia

Author of *Canada* 1896, Bourinot was a Canadian journalist, historian, and civil servant, self-taught after two years at Trinity College, Toronto.

Bella Duffy (d. 1926) Circulating Library

Author of *The Tuscan Republics* 1892, Duffy wrote mainly non-fiction, notably a biography of Madame de Staël (1887).

Robert Watson Frazer LLB (1854-1921) Indian Biographical Dictionary

Author of *British India* 1896, Frazer served as a British civil servant in India, before returning to England to lecture at the London Institution. He wrote extensively about Indian history and culture.

Edward Augustus Freeman (1823-1892) Wikipedia

Author of *Sicily* (1892), Freeman was an eminent British historian, at the time considered the foremost expert on the Norman conquest of England, having published a 5-volume account (1870-1876). He was Jewett's main source for *The Story of the Normans*.

Arthur Gilman (1837-1909) Wikipedia

Gilman, educator and historian, became an advocate for women's higher education. He was a founder of the Harvard Annex in 1879, which eventually became Radcliffe College. He authored the volumes on Rome and the Saracens, and he is identified on the various lists above as co-author of the titles on Germany, Carthage, Egypt and the Moors. That he authored one of the first two volumes and assisted in several others suggests that Putnam's was pleased with his writing and may have seen him as a "fixer," someone who could bring problematic texts into line with the series' aims. Perhaps he even was an originator of the series.

Gilman's residence in Cambridge, MA after 1870 and his association with the Riverside Press and the Harvard Annex make it likely that he was acquainted with John T. and Annie Fields. This makes it possible that Gilman recruited Jewett for *The Story of the Normans*.

Edward Everett Hale (1822-1909) Wikipedia

Hale probably is best remembered as the author of *The Man Without a Country* (1863). Trained for the Unitarian ministry at Harvard College and Divinity School, Hale wrote fiction and history in addition to serving as a pastor. He collaborated with his sister, Susan Hale, to produce *The Story of Spain* 1886.

Susan Hale (1833-1910) Wikipedia

The sister of Edward Everett Hale, Susan Hale was an educator, author, traveler and artist. She collaborated with her brother to produce a volume on Spain, a country upon which she had written earlier in *A Family Flight through Spain* 1883. She also wrote the *Mexico* volume for The Story of the Nations.

Stanley Edward Lane-Poole (1854-1931) Wikipedia

Lane-Poole was a British orientalist and archaeologist for the British Museum, on site in Egypt. He eventually became professor of Arabic Studies at University of Dublin. As useful to the series as Gilman, he contributed four volumes on the Moors, Turkey, the Barbary Corsairs and Medieval India.

Emily Lawless (1845-1913) Wikipedia

Author of *Ireland* 1887, Lawless was an Irish novelist and poet from County Kildare. Gutenberg Text Link

Zénaïde Alexeïevna Ragozin (1835-1924) Wikipedia

Born in Russia, Ragozin emigrated to the United States in 1874. A self-educated author and traveler, she became one of the stable of writers on whom Putnam's depended. She produced four titles in this series during 1886-1895 on Chaldea, Assyria, Media, and Vedic India. She later produced several volumes for another Putnam's series, Tales of the Heroic Age.

Canon George Rawlinson (1812-1902) Wikipedia

Educated at Oxford University, Rawlinson was British scholar, historian, and Christian theologian, who became a professor of Ancient History at Oxford. He authored three volumes in the series, on Egypt, Phoenicia and Parthia.

Helen Ainslee Smith (1857-1932) Newberry Library

Author of the two volume title, *The Thirteen Colonies* 1901, Smith wrote popular books on a variety of topics, including the great cities of the ancient world, great cities of the modern world and American biography. Under the pseudonym, Hazel Shepard, she authored juvenile titles on topics such as birds and fishes and histories of Russia and of Japan.

Henry Edward Watts (1826-1904) Wikipedia

Author of *The Christian Recovery of Spain* 1893, Watts was a British journalist and author on Spanish topics. He is best known for his translation of Cervantes, *Don Quixote* 1888.

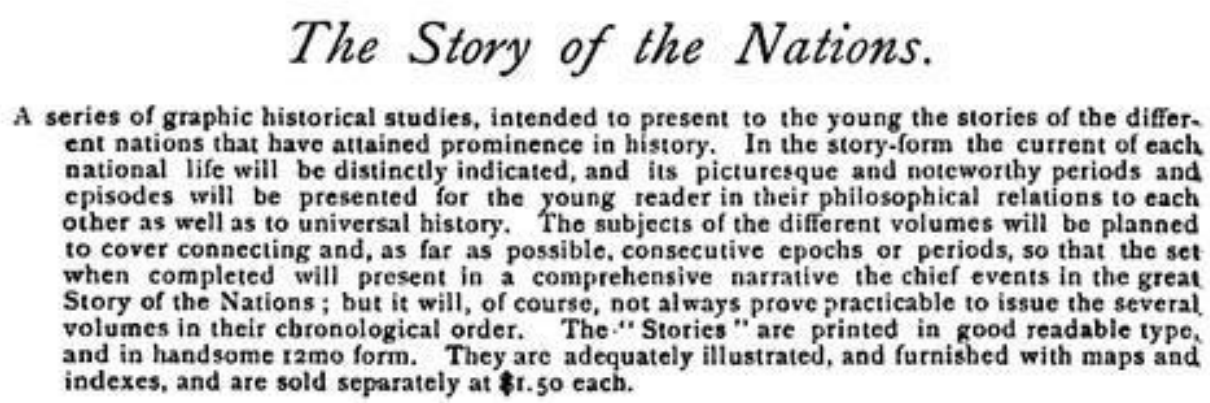
Alethea Wiel (b. 1851-1929) Encyclopedia Americana

Author of *Venice* 1894, Wiel wrote a number of popular histories, as well as biography and magazine pieces, mainly about Italian culture and history. Born Alethea Jane Lawley, she married the historian, Taddeo Wiel.

Helen Zimmern (1846-1934) Wikipedia

Author of *The Hansa Towns* 1891, Zimmern was a German-British writer and translator of fiction and cultural criticism, including works of her friend, Friedrich Nietzsche.

Marketing and Reviewing of the Series



The Story of the Nations.

A series of graphic historical studies, intended to present to the young the stories of the different nations that have attained prominence in history. In the story-form the current of each national life will be distinctly indicated, and its picturesque and noteworthy periods and episodes will be presented for the young reader in their philosophical relations to each other as well as to universal history. The subjects of the different volumes will be planned to cover connecting and, as far as possible, consecutive epochs or periods, so that the set when completed will present in a comprehensive narrative the chief events in the great Story of the Nations; but it will, of course, not always prove practicable to issue the several volumes in their chronological order. The "Stories" are printed in good readable type, and in handsome 12mo form. They are adequately illustrated, and furnished with maps and indexes, and are sold separately at $1.50 each.

From an ad for the Series. Publishers Weekly, March 27, 1886, p. 435.

Following is a sampling of sources and materials related to the series. These are materials I examined in order to determine how the publishers envisioned their audience.

It appears that the series initially was intended for young readers and was so advertised in *Publishers Weekly*. However, early reviewers were unimpressed with what they saw as authors' failed attempts to cater to young readers. The selections from prefaces by Harrison (Greece) and Hosmer (Jews) indicate that they were "instructed" to target a juvenile audience, and that Hosmer in particular struggled with this as a major problem in composing *The Story of the Jews*. Both publishers seem to have dropped the notion of marketing the series as for young readers by the time they printed *The Story of the Normans*, for that element is removed from the description of the series in the prospectus, and at about the same time, the audience specification disappears from *PW* ads. Reviewers, however, continued to describe the series as for young readers at least through 1887.

This information leaves open the question of how Jewett envisioned her audience as she composed the book. Almost certainly, she did much of her work while her publisher was thinking of the series as for young readers, but Jewett also was able to read early titles and reviews and may well have received new instructions before completing her work. *Atlantic*'s review of her volume noted that it did not seem to be addressed to juvenile readers, though in reviews of earlier titles, *Atlantic* had paid attention to this question.

The text of the ad above differs from the prospectus in the 1887 printing of *The Story of the Normans*. Notice the first sentence varies: "... intended to present to the young the stories of the different nations...." (my underlining). A similar ad with the same first sentence appears in the September 26, 1885 issue of *Publishers Weekly*. The *PW* ad that appears in February 1887, a month after the release of *The Story of the Normans*, drops the first two sentences, beginning with "The subjects of ...." (280).

Reviews of Selected Titles in the Series

Atlantic Monthly Reviews

The Atlantic Monthly Volume 0056 Issue 337 (November 1885)

Title: Books of the Month [pp. 717-720]

From 718-9.

The Story of Greece, by James A. Harrison (Putnam's) is the first in a series entitled The Story of the Nations.... The first suggestion which the title of this volume and series presents is that the publishers or editors are uneasy lest they should happen to be offering something dull. History is history, and this book aims at giving the history of Greece in a compact form, but not a dessicated form. In his anxiety, however, not to be dry, Mr. Harrison has rushed to the other extreme, and irritates the reasonable reader by his jocularity and forced vivacity. The young reader is aimed at, but the

young reader, we hope, does not need to be treated as if he were a poor blasé creature, who has had a surfeit of fiction, and now must be cajoled back into honest history.

From the Preface of the 1893 printing of *The Story of Greece*, iv.

An effort has been made in this work to catch and fix the salient outlines of the History of Greece .., and to throw them into a story form which, rid of technicality and superfluous learning, might attract the mind of younger readers and whet their appetites for the larger and more detailed histories of the scientific historians. Wherever it was possible, the great and beautiful deeds, the fine stories, the narratives of admirable actions, the stirring and illustrative anecdotes to be found in the ancient writers, have been chosen to describe Greek life and civilization in preference to a dry chronicle of dates and events, which would simply repel without instructing. (Preface iv)

The Atlantic Monthly Volume 0057 Issue 340 (February 1886)

Title: Books of the Month [pp. 284-288]

From p. 284

The Story of Rome, from the earliest times to the end of the republic, by Arthur Gilman, is the second in the series entitled The Story of the Nations. (Putnams.) The plan of the series supposes a lighter vein in the historical treatment than is ordinarily adopted, but does not therefore exclude exactness of statement. Mr. Gilman, like his predecessor Mr. Harrison, means to give in familiar form the results of historical students, and we think he is more successful than the former. His proportions are better, and we are spared the too jocular tone. The style is generally clear without being elegant, and one gets the impression of a good piece of task-work, rather than a fresh, individual book, forced out of one from his full knowledge and strong interest.

The Atlantic Monthly Volume 0057 Issue 343 (May 1886)

Title: Books of the Month [pp. 717-720]

From p. 717

The Story of the Jews, by James K. Hosmer (Putnams), is a most interesting narrative, which is very far removed from a paraphrase of the Old Testament, since most of the volume is given to a sketch of the Jewish people from the fall of Jerusalem to the present day. Mr. Hosmer has been stirred by his subject to something very like eloquence, and fortunately has not concerned himself to ask the age of his audience.

The Atlantic Monthly Volume 0058 Issue 349 (November 1886)

Title: Books of the Month [pp. 718-720]

From p. 720

In the series The Story of the Nations, three new volumes have appeared: The Story of Germany, by S. Baring-Gould, with the collaboration of Arthur Gilman; the Story of Norway, by H. H. Boyesen; and the Story of Hungary, by Arminius Vámbéry, with the collaboration of Louis Heilprin. (Putnams.) Mr. Boyesen has had somewhat the easiest task, and we think he has performed it the most satisfactorily. He has written a popular history of a compact people, and has done his work seriously and apparently faithfully. To give the story of Germany was a much more difficult matter, but the central idea of showing the development of the imperial principle was a good one, and has been kept in mind with some steadiness. It strikes us, however, that in his eagerness to be bright and lively Mr. Baring-Gould has crowded in a good deal of detail to the exclusion of strong leading lines. We wish, for example, that he had made more clear the real meaning of Protestantism. It seems a pity that Mr. Vámbéry should not have given a fuller and clearer statement of the recent constitutional questions. The illustrations in the first two books, especially in Germany, are capital; those in Hungary are inferior.

The Atlantic Monthly Volume 0059 Issue 353 (March 1887)

Title: Books of the Month [pp. 430-432B]

From p. 431

Books for Young People. — In The Story of the Nations Series (Putnams) two new volumes have been received: The Story of the Moors in Spain, by Stanley Lane-Poole, and The Story of the Saracens from the Earliest Times to the Fall of Bagdad, by Arthur Gilman. They supplement each other, and while the former has the advantage of a more localized treatment and a closer connection with what is familiar in history and travel, the latter tells a story which centres mainly about a great historical personage. Both are discreetly illustrated, and Mr. Gilman's has an excellent bibliography attached to it.

NOTE: This is the first of the *Atlantic* reviews of the series to be placed under the heading "Books for Young People." Previous reviews appeared under "History." In February 1888, the next title reviewed in *Atlantic* also appears under Books for Young People, but in June 1888 and for some time after, they appear under "History." The *Atlantic* review of *The Story of the Normans* appears under "History" in June 1887; the reviewer says, "This book belongs to a series designed in a general way for young people, but there is little in Miss Jewett's treatment which especially calls up such an audience" (859).

Overland Monthly

Overland monthly and Out West Magazine. (June 1886)

Title: Book Reviews [pp. 659-666]

From pp. 665-6

The Story of the Nations.

Some time ago an extensive series of volumes was announced by J. P Putnam's Sons, under the general title of "The Story of the Nations." Its plan was one whose happy execution is attended with very great difficulties. It was proposed to present to the young reader "in the story form the current of each national life, and its picturesque and noteworthy periods and episodes, in their philosophical relation to each other, as well as to universal history; to enter into the real life of the peoples, and to bring them before the reader as they actually lived, labored and struggled." Here is certainly an ambitious project, and not the least ambitious phase of it is, that all this is to be given to the "young reader." The fundamental misconception which underlies this undertaking is, that any subject within the range of human knowledge may be made "easy" simply by a peculiar form of statement, and that all that is necessary to make clear to the miniature mind "the current of each national life and its picturesque and noteworthy periods and episodes, in their philosophical relation to each other, as well as to universal history," is simply to reduce it to the form of a story. It seems never to occur to the projectors of such plans, that there are some things which from their very nature are difficult of comprehension, and that in order to their comprehension there is required a considerable degree of intellectual maturity. Among these things are the topics which it is here proposed to present to the young reader. The "philosophical relation" of events and epochs in the history of the world is difficult for the immature mind, not because the language of the masters of historical writing presents any special difficulties; the difficulty lies in the conception itself, and no attempt to weave it into the a "story form" is likely to make it easier of apprehension.

The volumes on *Greece, Rome*, and *The Jews,* possess certain qualities in common, although by different writers. They all lack a simple, plain, and direct style. They contain an abundance of that information which ought very early to find its way to the mind of youth, and the publisher has done his part to make the volumes attractive, but the text does not rise much above the work of literary hacks. But the latest volume, *The Story of Chaldea*, by Zénaïde A. Rogozin, is a meritorious compilation from the writings, Layard. Rawlinson, Lenomant, and others.

From the preface to Hosmer, *The Story of the Jews* 1885, pp. iii-v

To write "The Story of the Jews" for the series in which it is to appear has been a task beset with certain special embarrassments.

In the first place, it may reasonably be doubted whether a faithfully related story of the Jews is suitable reading for immature minds. The prudent parent shrinks from putting into the hands of his child Hamlet, or Lear, or Othello. In the first, the terrible soul agony, -- in the second, the ruthless exercise of the most savage passions, -- in the third, the malignant, snake-like craft crushing in its folds unsuspecting manly worth and womanly loveliness, -- this tragedy of the deepest requires full maturity in order that its lessons may be intelligently received and its power fully realized. Such literature is meat for men, not milk for babes; and it is quite premature to undertake it, until experience has thoroughly settled the character. Has not history as well as poetry its tragedies quite too sombre for childhood, -- and among its tragedies is there any quite so dark as the story of the Jews? Where else are problems presented which so defy satisfactory solution? Where else is it necessary to contemplate the play of spiritual forces so tremendous? Where else is there anguish so deep and long-continued?...

The writer of this volume has dealt with these embarrassments as well as he could. As to the first, interpreting in a liberal way his commission "to write a story for the young," he has tried to adapt his chapters to those in the later stages of youth, -- to those, indeed, already standing upon the threshold of maturity. Prominence has been given to the more picturesque and dramatic

features of the record. The profundities are only touched upon; the mysteries of the Cabala, and the inspiration that may lie within the fantastic rhapsodizing of the Talmudists, no attempt has been made to fathom. At the same time, there has been no effort to dwarf and emasculate the absorbing account into the dimensions of a proper " juvenile." Here are details of exterminating warfare, of sharpest torture, of bitterest cursing. Here are presented sages as they study the darkest problems, -- poets, as they thrill the human heart-strings with marvellous, subtle power; -- characters shining in the very beauty of holiness, -- characters, too, black with malignity most appalling. All this stands in the record: to present Israel faithfully, these traits must be given, and the attempt has been made to present Israel faithfully. A tale, it is, full of thrilling fascination and fruitful in instruction; a tale, however, that sobers and that requires soberness in its readers, -- the ripeness which comes when childhood has been left behind.

Miscellaneous

Catholic world. (May 1886)

Title: New Publications [pp. 283-288]

From p. 287

The Story of Chaldea by Zénaïde Rogozin

This belongs to the "Story of the Nations" series, and is one of the best, if not the best, of the series so far. It is free from that very apparent stooping down to the minds of young people which characterized some of the preceding volumes of this series. Boys and girls always resent a too evident patronage of manner. *The Story of Chaldea* may be read by old and young with profit and pleasure. The illustrations are excellent, and are of real benefit in illustrating the text.

New Englander and Yale Review Volume 0047 Issue 210 (September 1887)

Title: Current Literature: The Story of Carthage. Alfred J. Church [pp. 228-230]

An extended descriptive review, which concludes: "Altogether the work may be welcomed as a valuable addition to our historical literature."

New Englander and Yale Review 48 (1888), 131-7.

From an extended review by William L. Kingsley.

It is ... fortunate that the Messrs. Putnams have added the "Story of Ireland" to the series to which they have given the name the "Story of the Nations." This little volume will very soon satisfy the reader as to the reasons of the present wretched condition of Ireland, and will perhaps draw out warm sympathy for its people; but the question of Home Rule is a larger and a more difficult one. Even the authoress of the "Story" offers no decided opinion.

North American Review 146 (1888), p. 357.

The Hon. Emily Lawless, who writes "The Story of Ireland"† for the Putnams' series, has brought together enough historic material to establish the claim of the Emerald Isle to a place among the nations of the earth. There were days when, as in England, noble lords and fair ladies lived in splendor and were the pride of their country, and when Ireland's sons believed in her future. The story of these days, of the early English invasions, and of the causes which have led to the present condition of the country, are briefly but conscientiously sketched by Miss Lawless. The work will be acceptable for the concise presentation of the important facts in the history of this people whose affairs are, at present, of so much interest to the world.

The American Catholic Quarterly Review, Volume 13 (1888), p. 191

THE STORY OF IRELAND. By the *Hon. Emily Lawless.* With some additions by Mrs. Arthur Bronson. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1888 ("The Story of the Nations" Series).

Not having closely examined all the volumes of the series in which this book appears, we cannot say whether it is the worst among them; we hope it is not the best, for then it would not be worth anybody's while to read them. A better illustration could not be had of the folly and futility of choosing writers at hap-hazard to get up a work to order for the purpose of filling a gap in a series. But the evil may soon bring its own remedy, as the series business is being very much overdone, and we know of nothing more loathing to good taste than a surfeit of such reading.

The author of "Hurrish; A Study," as Miss Lawless announces herself on the title page of her "Story of Ireland," has certainly not made a thorough study of Irish history, else she would not complain of finding so "many blind alleys," "sudden turnings," and "unaccountably crooked portions" in what she is pleased to call its "long dark road." She is not the "genuine explorer" that she speaks of, but rather "the less well-equipped traveller." The story is not an interesting one as she presents it; and that it can be made most interesting every reader of the late A. M. Sullivan's "Story of Ireland" well knows. Her presentation of it is not by any means as pleasing, as full or as accurate as is Walpole's "History of the Kingdom of Ireland," whose publication, by the way, removed the necessity for any other book of the same compass. So much of general comment. By way of particular stricture we need only say that Miss Lawless' references to the early Irish Church are entirely misleading and erroneous. Nor is she reliable on other points. But while "of writing books there is no end," her enemies will rejoice that she has written this one.

The Speaker (9 July 1904), 342-3.

THE TRUE MIDDLE AGES.

MEDIÆVAL ENGLAND. By Mary Bateson. "The Story of Nations" Series. London: Fisher Unwin.

IT may be said with justice that this book is the v best in a series. the high level of which has been ev where recognised; a series which contains, for instan Mr. Archer's *Crusades*. It shows in every page three qualities which are especially demanded in s a work—knowledge, grasp, and clear style.

To take the least important first, the style is worthy quite peculiar praise. It permits Miss Bateson to do t most difficult thing in history, namely to convey a gr mass of information without producing any sense of c fusion in the reader. Its lucidity is attained at expense of no thinness of matter, and its character is ma tained without a break throughout the 400 pages more which the book runs to. We can hardly remem any such feat in another book of this kind recer written for popular usage.

We have spoken of the erudition which the w shows. It is a matter which in its nature cannot furn examples for the purposes of a short review. Most torical books are learned on some page or other, but t book is learned throughout. It is learned not only in enormous number of facts which are collected within covers, but in the use of adjectives and of verbs, and the turn which the sentences take. The third paragra for instance, on page 132 gives in seven lines and in simplest and most conclusive manner the nature of L don's position at the time of the Norman transition, the whole page and the two next beyond it are cramm with a knowledge of the thing, and it is only one of many things which seem to be known to the writer of book.

Or again, let anyone who has taken a thorough inte in the analysis of Doomsday write down a summary modern research and conjecture to cover about ten pa More than one reader of these lines must have writ some such essay in the course of his studies. Let h compare it with the extraordinarily clear and comp hensive summary running from pages 99 to 109 of t book, and consider two phrases out of it to illustrate w we have said of the way in which the author's learnin to be found not only in statement of fact, but in ju ment and in use of words. . . "the ladder of Lo erected over a given piece of land is a short one" . and this better still, "the pyramidal form" (speaking the hierarchy of mediæval society) "becomes more p nounced as the top tier narrows."

But perhaps the erudition of the book is best s in the choice of the illustrations. No one who has b concerned with work of this kind can fail to admire enormous industry and the accurate judgment which h led to the choice of the drawings, and Miss Bateson specially to be congratulated in the matter from the that in many books otherwise satisfactory this feature scamped.

When it comes to grasp of the Middle Ages we confronted with the difficulty that English people, a whole, will not appreciate that period. If you publish truth with regard to it it will nearly always appear f to your readers, because in religion, which is the b of all civic life, they differ so greatly from their f fathers. It is true to say, however, that no book. writ in English in recent times has come nearer to giv the ordinary reader a true picture of what his forefath were like. Miss Bateson has found the achievement this difficult task the more possible from the fact t she is in sympathy with the modern point of view. will call Anglo-Saxon "English"; she will regret "coa ness"; and she will attach laudatory epithets to those restrain popular enthusiasm. She has no great s pathy with John's impetuous charity; she regards general northern dislike of the central and south Frenchman (as strong in the De Montfort family as in English Baron) as an example of the English dislike foreigners.

But there are a hundred remarks in the book wh nearly every other modern writer in this country wo have left out. The doctrine of the Church with reg to usury is unfamiliar to her, but she does at least p out the enormous wealth of the Jews and give it s place among the causes of their ruin. She does s what a place the Church had in the general life of nation. She combats effectually the conception squalor which a modern ignorance has thrown round domestic life of the latter twelfth and early thirtee century. Here again it is impossible within the limit a short review to illustrate excellence. One can affirm it, but the affirmation, for what it is worth, sh be made most strongly by everyone whose business is to judge this book, however superficially. It is, we peat, the best manual that can be found anywhere for life of the Middle Ages in England before the disaste the fourteenth century, and it is a pleasure to be abl use such superlatives and yet to feel that they are accur

Jewett's Sources for *The Story of the Normans*

Introduction

Read in isolation from other contributions to the series of which it is a part, *The Story of the Nations*, Jewett's *The Story of the Normans* may appear to be more amateurish than it is, mainly because she seems so lax about identifying her sources. Repeatedly one encounters unattributed quotations and references such as "an old writer says." We expect a historian to be careful and consistent about identifying her sources. However, when one considers the stated purpose of the series, it seems clear that G. P. Putnam's Sons and T. Fisher Unwin did not intend for the volumes to be histories, but "stories," which probably is the reason that a number of the volumes were assigned to successful writers, like Jewett, who were not trained historians. The description of the series appearing in each volume reads, in part:

> In the story form the current of each National life is distinctly indicated, and its picturesque and noteworthy periods and episodes are presented for the reader in their philosophical relation to each other as well as to universal history.
>
> It is the plan of the writers of the different volumes to enter into the real life of the peoples, and to bring them before the reader as they actually lived, labored, and struggled – as they studied and wrote, and as they amused themselves. In carrying out this plan, the myths, with which the history of all lands begins, will not be overlooked, though these will be carefully distinguished from the actual history, so far as the labors of the accepted historical authorities have resulted in definite conclusions.

Though the series originally was conceived as directed toward younger readers, this publicity description seems aimed at any reader who would enjoy a form of historical narrative that emphasizes the qualities of story-telling, with attention to the daily lives and interests of individuals, and that traces meaningful patterns within the narrative, patterns that connect in turn with the experiences of readers – universal history.

Given these aims, it is not surprising that the publisher would recommend minimizing the usual apparatus of footnotes and source lists of professional historical writing. I have not been able to learn what Putnam told authors about its expectations for scholarly apparatus, but one may infer from other volumes in the series. Edward A. Freeman, author of *The History of the Norman Conquest of England, Its Causes and Its Results* (6 volumes; 1867-1876), was Jewett's most authoritative historical source. His contribution to the "Nations" series was *The Story of Sicily* (1892). Like Jewett's volume, Freeman's contains no formal bibliography; I found no quotations or footnotes in a cursory examination. Freeman opens each chapter with a discussion of his sources, but he implies in an 1888 letter to Jewett that he would prefer more definite citations and that his solution is an accommodation with the publisher. Another professional historian, Stanley Lane-Poole, produced several volumes in the series, including *The Story of the Moors in Spain* (1886), which looks rather like *The Normans*, though he is perhaps more careful about identifying his sources and, especially, in providing page numbers. Still his documentation is minimal and, at one point, he quotes extensively from a Walter Scott poem, "The Vision of Don Roderick," without identifying it or the author, perhaps assuming reader familiarity with the popular poet.

It would appear, then, that the publishers allowed authors to manage documentation as they pleased, but probably requested that it be minimal. In this context, Jewett's use of source material differs less than one might expect from those writers with professional training and experience. Still, scholars wishing to understand how Jewett developed her ideas about the Normans and their contributions to later European and American culture would be interested in knowing all of her sources. I have undertaken this task, but with only moderate success. I have tried to locate Jewett's probable sources and to identify her numerous quotations. A main problem for this effort turns out to be that there often are minor differences, usually of punctuation, between the source and Jewett's quotation. This could mean that she misquoted, or it could mean that I have not yet found the exact source. Or, perhaps more likely, that she freely adapted her quotations, much as she freely paraphrased sources. For example, much of her account of Rolf the Ganger in Chapter 2 paraphrases Augustin Thierry's narrative in Book 2 of the Hazlitt translation of *History of the Conquest of England by the Normans* (1825, 1871).

Some information about Jewett's sources turns up in what appears to be a draft of an unused acknowledgments and dedication that appears in transcriptions from mixed repositories in the Maine Women Writer's Collection, University of New England, Letters from Sarah Orne Jewett, 1875-1890, Folder 74, Burton Trafton Jewett Research Collection. The document is labeled: (one sheet of paper, property of Burton W. F. Trafton, Jr., South Berwick, Maine). It reads:

> In writing this history I have tried to emphasize the growth and supremacy of the Normans as one of the great advances and uplifts of civilization a wave of advance, a higher tide rather, that makes new coastlines along the shore of time.
>
> If I have dwelt much longer upon some men's stories than others in themselves equally interesting it has been in accordance with the wise suggestion of Guizot. [Quote]
>
> I must acknowledge my debt to the histories of Freeman and Guizot and Palgrave Thierry & Laing as well as to Mr. Green[,] Prof. Guest & Prof. Johnson also my personal gratitude to my friends Mrs. Fields of Boston and Miss Ticknor to whom I dedicate my book although with a painful sense of its difficiencies [*so transcribed*]. I would be most glad if it could mark my deep sense of her generous work for America in her plan and deboled [*so transcribed*]. Carrying forward of the Society for the Encouragement of (American Authors?)

Finding exact sources for specific quotations and paraphrases is further complicated by there being multiple editions of some. I have not taken the time, in each case, to check all editions available to Jewett to determine which specific edition she consulted. Should this prove important in any particular case, I hope my guidance will help future scholars to complete this work. In the notes to the individual chapters, where I have found discrepancies between a Jewett quotation and the source I have identified, I have tried to be consistent in noting that there are such discrepancies.

Below, is a list of the sources I believe Jewett used. I have noted those cases where I am persuaded the edition I am using differs from the one Jewett used. I have provided links when an edition of the volume currently is available on-line, but as time passes, these are likely to become less accurate.

Jewett's Main Source

Freeman, Edward Augustus (1823-1892).

The History of the Norman Conquest of England, Its Causes and Its Results

(6 volumes; 1867-1876).

This comprehensive historical account was the source to which all contemporary authors and historians turned for authoritative information about the Normans in England and France. Jewett drew upon it continuously and quoted frequently, but without specifying her edition and often without naming the source.

For notes to the chapters, I use the *Revised American Edition* of 1873-1879. I believe this is the edition Jewett used; however, her quotations often vary slightly from this text. I am guessing these are transcription errors, but they may be free adaptations, or I may be mistaken about the edition she used.

For a biographical sketch of Freeman, see Wikipedia:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edward_Augustus_Freeman.

Google books volumes of Freeman, partially available on-line, various editions.

Volume 1 (2nd edition revised, 1870)

http://books.google.com/books?id=_IkJAAAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Volume 2 (1868)

http://books.google.com/books?id=-4kJAAAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Volume 3 (Revised American Edition, 1873)

http://books.google.com/books?id=ntE9AAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Volume 4 (Second edition revised, 1876)

http://books.google.com/books?id=-YkJAAAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Volume 5 (Revised American edition, 1876)

http://books.google.com/books?id=yGENAAAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Volume 6: Index (1879)

http://books.google.com/books?id=QVMJAAAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Jewett's Other Sources

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle *according to the several original authorities* (1861), Edited, with a translation by Benjamin Thorpe.

Jewett drew often upon a translation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.* I have not located the exact translation she used. Her quotations from the *Chronicle* never exactly duplicate the contemporary Thorpe translation to which there is easy Internet access:

http://books.google.com/books?id=s_09AAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

She also apparently did not use the following translation, though it was available to her:

The Venerable Bede's Ecclesiastical History of England: Also the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle ; with Illustrative Notes, a Map of Anglo-Saxon England And, a General Index (1847). Saint Bede (the Venerable), John Stevens, Anna Gurvey, Henry Petrie.

http://books.google.com/books?id=KP-bG0ulXmUC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Blackburn, Henry (1830-1897). *Normandy Picturesque* (1870).

http://www.gutenberg.org/files/18080/18080-h/18080-h.htm

Bruce, John Collingwood (1805-1892) *The Bayeux Tapestry Elucidated* (1856).

https://books.google.com/books?id=SRZAAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false

Cotman, John Sell (1782-1842). *Architectural Antiquities of Normandy* (1822).

http://www.gutenberg.org/files/30172/30172-h/30172-h.htm

Depping, Georges-Bernard (1784-1853). *Histoire des expéditions maritimes des Normands et de leur etablissement en France au dixième siècle* ("History of the sea voyages of the Normans and their settlement in France during the 10th century," 1826).

Jewett notes this as: Depping: "Maritimes Voyages des Normands." Since WorldCat indicates no English translation available, Jewett almost certainly read this in French and translated her quotation from it. WorldCat also locates only a few copies locally available to Jewett at Dartmouth, Mt. Holyoke and Smith Colleges, as well as at universities in New York. It appears this would have been a somewhat difficult book to access, unless an acquaintance had a personal copy.

Furthermore, Jeannine Hammond, a French-speaking helper, and I have not been able to locate the passage Jewett quotes in the available, searchable Internet edition. We suspect that Jewett developed a sort of summary of several items from this text and presented this as a quotation. But there are other alternatives. For example, the link below is to a second, revised edition. Perhaps Jewett's quotation is from the first edition.

https://archive.org/stream/histoiredesexp00deppuoft#page/n7/mode/2up

Dickens, Charles (1812-1870). *A Child's History of England* (1851-54).

http://www.gutenberg.org/files/699/699-h/699-h.htm

Duncan, Jonathan (1799-1865). *The Dukes of Normandy* (1839).

http://books.google.com/books?id=qGUIAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false

Freeman, Edward A. (1823-1892) *The Story of Sicily: Phoenician, Greek, and Roman* (1892).

Jewett refers to this book in her Chapter 7, but clearly it was only in prospect as a volume in the Story of the Nations series as she was working on *The Normans* in 1885-6. As he was completing this volume, which appeared the year of his death, he presumably also was working with his son-in-law on his four volume *The History of Sicily from the Earliest Times*, 1891-1894:

http://books.google.com/books?id=iQ8qAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Green, John Richard (1837-1883). *A Short History of the English People,* 4 volumes (1880).

Volume 1 of the 1899 edition:

http://books.google.com/books?id=Wo7SCtGVeIgC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false

Guest, Montague John. *Lectures on the History of England* (1879).

https://books.google.com/books?id=yTouAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false

Guizot, François, M. (1787-1874) and Witt, Henriette Elizabeth, Madame de (1829-1908). *The History of France from the Earliest times to 1848*, Volume 1 (1885).

http://books.google.com/books?id=7xJLAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Hare, Augustus J. C. (1834-1903). *Cities of Southern Italy and Sicily* (1883).

http://books.google.com/books?id=6SsqAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false

Johnson, Arthur Henry (1845-1927). *The Normans in Europe* (1877, original edition 1869).

http://books.google.com/books?id=nIQDAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Keyser, Rudolph (1803-1864). *The Private Life of the old Northmen* (1868).

http://books.google.com/books?id=thsYAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false

Kingsley, Charles (1819-1875) *Hereward, The Last of the English*, originally published as *Hereward the Wake* (1865). In Kingsley's *Works,* Volume 3 (1883).

http://books.google.com/books?id=MCcByrW3E1YC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false

Knight, Richard Payne (1750-1824). *The Normans in Sicily: Being a Sequel to "An Architectural Tour in Normandy* (1838).

http://books.google.com/books?id=WWk5AAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false

Laing, Malcolm. *The history of Scotland: From the union of the crowns on the accession of James VI. to the throne of England, to the union of the kingdoms in the reign of Queen Anne. By Malcolm Laing, Esq. With two dissertations, historical and critical, on the Gowrie conspiracy, and on the supposed authenticity of Ossian's poems.* (1800, two volumes).

https://books.google.com/books?id=OxM5AQAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false

Lytton, Edward Bulwer (1803-1873). *Harold: The Last of the Saxon Kings,* (1848), Volume 1:

http://books.google.com/books?id=PhYZAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false

Volume 2:

http://books.google.com/books?id=6PspAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Orderic Vitalis (1075 - c.1143). *Historia Ecclesiastica* (c. 1109-1141)

Jewett may have had access to the following 1853 translation by Thomas Forester, which appears to be the only English translation available to her, but the passages she quotes vary considerably from their appearance in this text.

Volume 1:

http://books.google.com/books?id=Sw3WvtInT6QC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false

Volume 2:

http://books.google.com/books?id=wjgIAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false

Palgrave, Sir Francis (1788-1861). *The History of Normandy and of England*, 1851-1864.

Volume 1: General relations of mediaeval Europe, the Carlovingian Empire, the Danish expeditions in the Gauls, and the establishment of Rollo. 1851.

http://books.google.com/books?id=FmEBAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false

Volume 2: The three first dukes of Normandy: Rollo, Guillaume-Longue-Épée, and Richard-Sans-Peur. The Carlovingian line

supplanted by the Capets. 1857 http://books.google.com/books?id=ArJCAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false

Volume 3: Richard-Sans-Peur. Richard Le-Bon. Richard III. Robert Le-Diable. William the Conqueror. 1864.

http://books.google.com/books?id=3BI5AQAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Palgrave, Sir Francis (1788-1861). *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 1831.

http://books.google.com/books?id=iVJjAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false

Symonds, John Addington (1840-1893). *Sketches in Italy* (1883).

Jewett identifies her source in Chapter 7 as "Studies in Southern Italy." This title does not appear among his books, but the material Jewett quotes *does* appear in the above listed volume, in the section, "Sketches and Studies in Italy."

http://books.google.com/books?id=U_02AAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false

Thierry, Augustin (1795-1856). *History of the Conquest of England by the Normans: Its Causes, and Its Consequences, in England, Scotland, Ireland, & on the Continent* (1871, original English publication in 1825).

Volume 1:

http://books.google.com/books?id=NY7SAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false

Volume 2:

http://books.google.com/books?id=jzEIAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Wace (Master Wace, c. 1100 – c. 1175)

A contemporary translation available to Jewett was: *Master Wace his chronicle of the Norman conquest from the Roman de Rou.* Tr. with notes and illus. by E. Taylor, 1837. WorldCat indicates that this was the only translation in print during Jewett's lifetime. However, it seems clear that Jewett did not quote from this translation. Usually, her quotations vary significantly from the passages as presented here.

http://books.google.com/books?id=bV8EAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Yonge, Charlotte Mary (1823-1901), *The Little Duke: Richard the Fearless* (1864).

http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/3048

The Story of the Normans -- Publication and Sales Information

Publication and Printings

From WorldCat

Without examining all of the items listed below, it is difficult to be sure how many distinct printings of this book appeared during the period it remained in print. The history provided by the holdings appearing in WorldCat indicates that this book remained in print under two titles from 1886, when it was copyrighted, until 1905. Despite the confusions of this record, it seems clear that the title was reprinted almost annually through 1901.

Title: The story of the Normans: told chiefly in relation to their conquest of England

Author(s): Jewett, Sarah Orne, 1849-1909.

Publication: New York; London : G.P. Putnam's Sons,

Year: **1886**

Description: xiv, 373 pages : frontispiece, illustrations, folded map, genealogical table ; 20 cm.

Series: Story of the nations; Variation: Story of the nations.

Title: The story of the Normans, told chiefly in relation to their conquest of England,

Publication: New York, London, G.P. Putnam's Sons,

Year: **1887**

Standard No: LCCN: 02-18547

Title: The story of the Normans, told chiefly in relation to their conquest of England,

Publication: London, T. Fisher Unwin

Year: **1887**

Note: Though listed in WorldCat, this probably is not an 1887 printing, as Unwin's official first printing in Great Britain appeared under the title *The Normans* in 1891. Perhaps at some time, Unwin issued a printing with only the American first printing date. See below.

Title: The story of the Normans: told chiefly in relation to their conquest of England

Author(s): Jewett, Sarah Orne, 1849-1909.

Publication: New York : G.P. Putnam's Sons,

Year: **1888**

Standard No: LCCN: 02-18547

Title: The story of the Normans: told chiefly in relation to their conquest of England

Publication: New York : G.P. Putnam's Sons,

Year: **1889**, ©1886

Title: The story of the Normans, told chiefly in relation to their conquest of England,

Publication: New York and London, G.P. Putnam's Sons,

Year: **1890**, ©1866

Title: The Normans: told chiefly in relation to their conquest of England

Publication: London : T. Fisher Unwin ; New York : G.P. Putnam's Sons,

Year: **1891**, ©1886

Title: The story of the Normans: told chiefly in relation to their conquest of England

Publication: New York : G.P. Putnam,

Year: **1892**, ©1886

Title: The story of the Normans: told chiefly in relation to their conquest of England

Publication: New York : G.P. Putnam's Sons,

Year: **1893**, ©1886

Title: The story of the Normans told chiefly in relation to their conquest of England.

Publication: New York : G.P. Putnam,

Year: **1895**

Title: The Normans: told chiefly in relation to their conquest of England

Publication: New York : G.P. Putnam ; London : T. Fisher Unwin,

Year: **1895**, ©1886

Title: The Normans; told chiefly in relation to their conquest of England,

Publication: New York, G.P. Putnam,

Year: **1898**

Standard No: LCCN: 11-13390

Note: Though the publisher is listed as Putnam in New York, the title is from the original British edition.

Title: The story of the Normans: told chiefly in relation to their conquest of England

Publication: London : T. Fisher,

Year: **1898**

Note: Though the publisher is listed as Fisher in London, the title is from the original American edition.

Title: The story of the Normans: told chiefly in relation to their conquest of England

Publication: London : Unwin; New York : Putnam,

Year: **1899**

Note: It appears that after 1898, both the British and the American publishers used their two titles interchangeably.

Title: The Normans; told chiefly in relation to their conquest of England,

Publication: New York : G.P. Putnam,

Year: **1901**

Standard No: LCCN: 11-13390

Title: The story of the Normans: told chiefly in relation to their conquest of England

Publication: New York ; London : G.P. Putnam's Sons,

Year: **1901**

The Normans; told chiefly in relation to their conquest of England,

Publication: New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons

Year: **1905**

Subscription Editions

WorldCat also lists two Unwin Subscription Editions of The Story of the Nations series, both of which included *The Normans*.

Title: The story of the nations.

Publication: London : T. Fisher Unwin,

Edition: Subscription ed.

Year: 1885-1914

Description: 62 v.

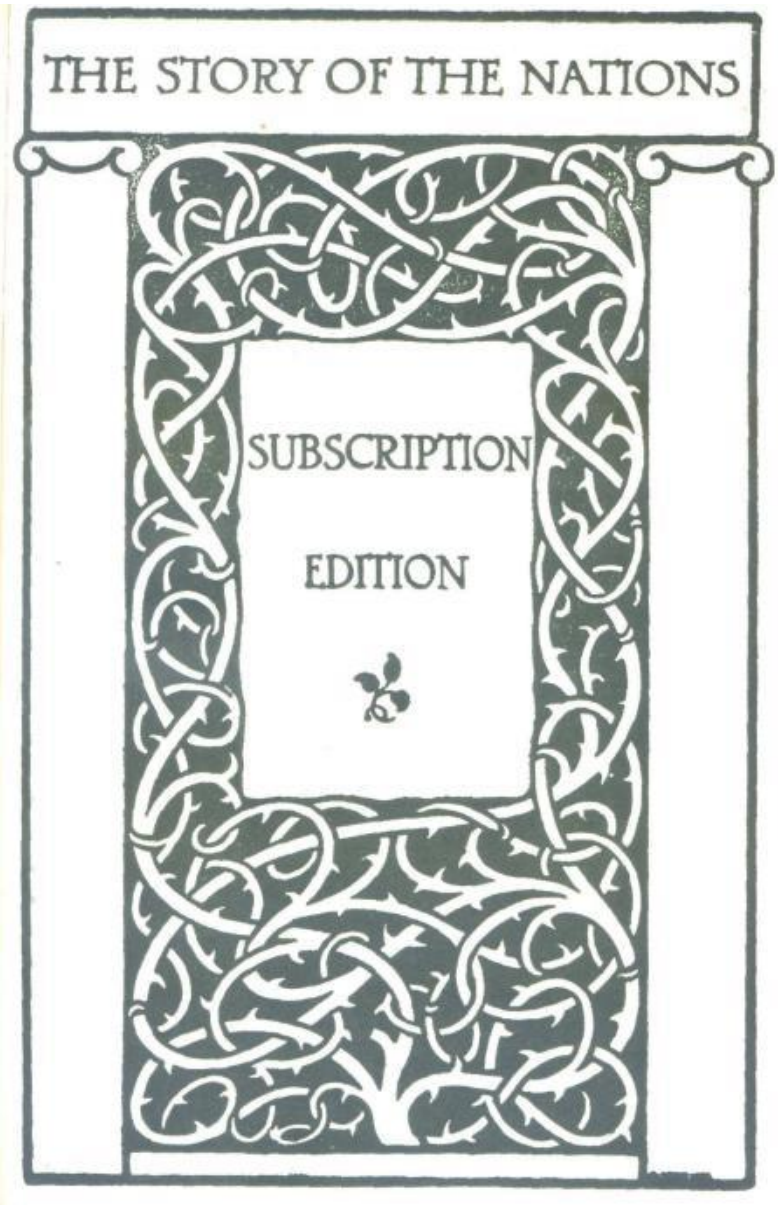
Title: The story of the nations ...

Publication: London, T. Fisher Unwin

Year: 1887-1925

Description: 67 volumes

These entries indicate that Unwin made some sort of offer allowing buyers to purchase the whole series by subscription, probably in 1914 and 1925. At least once, Unwin printed a special subscription edition. These are images of an Unwin subscription edition of *The Normans*, which lists 56 volumes at the beginning, available courtesy of the University of Texas at Tyler Library. The number of volumes offered suggests that there may have been a subscription offering before 1914, for which this volume was printed.



List of Titles in this Subscription Series

THE STORY OF THE NATIONS

1. **ROME.** By Arthur Gilman, M.A.
2. **THE JEWS.** By Prof. J. K. Hosmer.
3. **GERMANY.** By Rev. S. Baring-Gould, M.A.
4. **CARTHAGE.** By Prof. Alfred J. Church.
5. **ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE.** By Prof. J. P. Mahaffy.
6. **THE MOORS IN SPAIN.** By Stanley Lane-Poole.
7. **ANCIENT EGYPT.** By Prof. George Rawlinson.
8. **HUNGARY.** By Prof. Arminius Vambéry.
9. **THE SARACENS.** By Arthur Gilman, M.A.
10. **IRELAND.** By the Hon. Emily Lawless.
11. **CHALDEA.** By Zénaïde A. Ragozin.
12. **THE GOTHS.** By Henry Bradley.
13. **ASSYRIA.** By Zénaïde A. Ragozin.
14. **TURKEY.** By Stanley Lane-Poole.
15. **HOLLAND.** By Prof. J. E. Thorold Rogers.
16. **MEDIÆVAL FRANCE.** By Gustave Masson.
17. **PERSIA.** By S. G. W. Benjamin.
18. **PHŒNICIA.** By Prof. Geo. Rawlinson.
19. **MEDIA.** By Zénaïde A. Ragozin.
20. **THE HANSA TOWNS.** By Helen Zimmern.
21. **EARLY BRITAIN.** By Prof. Alfred J. Church.
22. **THE BARBARY CORSAIRS.** By Stanley Lane-Poole.
23. **RUSSIA.** By W. Morfill, M.A.
24. **THE JEWS UNDER THE ROMANS.** By W. D. Morrison.
25. **SCOTLAND.** By John Mackintosh, LL.D.
26. **SWITZERLAND.** By Mrs. Lina Hug and R. Stead.
27. **MEXICO.** By Susan Hale.
28. **PORTUGAL.** By H. Morse Stephens.
29. **THE NORMANS.** By Sarah Orne Jewett.
30. **THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE.** By C. W. C. Oman.
31. **SICILY: Phœnician, Greek and Roman.** By the late Prof. E. A. Freeman.
32. **THE TUSCAN REPUBLICS.** By Bella Duffy.
33. **POLAND.** By W. R. Morfill, M.A.
34. **PARTHIA.** By Prof. George Rawlinson.
35. **AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH.** By Greville Tregarthen.
36. **SPAIN.** By H. E. Watts.
37. **JAPAN.** By David Murray, Ph.D.
38. **SOUTH AFRICA.** By George M. Theal.
39. **VENICE.** By Alethea Wiel.
40. **THE CRUSADES.** By T. A. Archer and C. L. Kingsford.
41. **VEDIC INDIA.** By Z. A. Ragozin.
42. **WEST INDIES and the SPANISH MAIN.** By James Rodway.
43. **BOHEMIA.** By C. Edmund Maurice.
44. **THE BALKANS.** By W. Miller, M.A.
45. **CANADA.** By Sir J. G. Bourinot, LL.D.
46. **BRITISH INDIA.** By R. W. Frazer, LL.B.
47. **MODERN FRANCE.** By André-Le Bon.
48. **THE FRANKS.** By Lewis Sergeant.
49. **AUSTRIA.** By Sidney Whitman
50. **MODERN ENGLAND.** Before the Reform Bill. By Justin McCarthy.
51. **CHINA.** By Prof. R. K. Douglas.
52. **MODERN ENGLAND.** From the Reform Bill to the Present Time. By Justin McCarthy.
53. **MODERN SPAIN.** By Martin A. S. Hume.
54. **MODERN ITALY.** By Pietro Orsi.
55. **NORWAY.** By H. H. Boyesen.
56. **WALES.** By O. M. Edwards.

London: T. FISHER UNWIN, Paternoster Square, E.C.

Sales

Summary of Sales Figures from the Houghton documents

Sold	Promotional	on hand	Printing
August 1, 1888 Report			Previous printing of 1085 copies
206	6	830	1000
July 31, 1890 Report			
218	1	162	
January 31, 1891 Report			
126		536	500
July 31, 1891 Report			
168		365	
Final report to the Estate, July 31, 1909			
25		190	

Location of these materials

Persistent Link: http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL.HOUGH:3343058?n=2

Page: (seq. 2)

Repository: Houghton Library; Institution: Harvard University

Description: Sarah Orne Jewett Compositions and other papers, 1847-1909; Series III: Diaries, financial agreements, and miscellany; Financial accounts of Sarah Orne Jewett with her publishers, New York, London, and Boston, 1888-1906. bMS Am 1743.26, item 10. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

The Houghton Library at Harvard University holds six pages of sales reports on *The Story of the Normans*, apparently provided to Sarah Orne Jewett and her estate from the time of the book's publication in 1887 until her death in 1909. Five of these pages are from Putnam's Sons, with information about sales and royalties. The other is from Longmans, Green -- a royalty statement only, made in 1897. As T. Fisher Unwin was the publisher of the British edition, it appears that Longmans, Green acted as agent to make Jewett's payment.

The final report of July 1909 indicates that Putnam's Sons sold 6394 copies of the title. Presumably a substantial number of promotional copies also were distributed.

According to the advertising information at the front of the 1887 edition, all titles in the Story of the Nations series sold for $1.50 in the U.S.

This price remained stable through Putnam's final 1905 printing. The British edition sold for 5 shillings in 1891 and in 1899. The financial records indicate that Jewett received royalties of 10 cents / copy on the first 1000 copies sold and of 15 cents on subsequent trade sales. She received no royalties on promotional copies that were distributed to editors, teachers, and others. How much Jewett earned from the title is difficult to determine, as these records are not complete, and they indicate that there were different classes of sales that yielded different royalty amounts per copy. If she averaged 10 cents for all copies sold in her lifetime, her approximate royalty income from the title would have been about $640, an average of about $30 / year during that period. It is possible that she also received some amount upon publication in addition to royalties, but I have located no information that would confirm this or indicate the amount. I have little information on her royalties from the 1891 edition in Britain. The one statement from Longmans in this set, dated July 1897, indicates that she received at least one payment of 5 pounds, 7 shillings, and 1 pence, which was exchanged for $26.27.

I am not confident that I am correctly reading the statements that Jewett received from Houghton, Mifflin, but it appears that in 1899, Jewett earned about $460 from all of her 20 titles and editions currently in print from Houghton Mifflin, roughly $23 / title. In April 1906, 22 titles and editions brought in about $225, and if the next half year turned out about the same, her income for that year would be $450. If Jewett typically received $20-25 / year on average for one of her books, then *The Story of the Normans* probably earned better than the average. If her British royalty in 1897 was a typical annual event, this title may have earned more than twice the average for her other books. According to 1890 census data, an average wage-laborer would earn about $450 / year. Jewett's book royalties, however, formed only part of her total income, and she also owned property.

The Reception of *The Story of the Normans*

Reviews and Criticism

Introduction

Collected here are contemporary reviews and later critical discussions of *The Story of the Normans*, providing a view of the book's reception. Taken together, the items show that Jewett's work was valued by most of its early readers, but that it has been judged seriously flawed by literary critics and biographers.

Of 40 contemporary reviews collected here, 33 are positive, 4 offer a mixture of praise and critique, and 3 are strongly negative. Those who praise the book tend to focus on its readable and engaging telling, the narrative voice's lack of pretension to professional authority, and the effective use of professional historians. The mixed and negative reviewers focus on Jewett's lack of historical authority, asserting that they would prefer the volume to be written by a professional historian rather than a fiction writer. They seem, as well, to be unappreciative of concessions to popular readers and of those elements that digress from political and military history into domestic and private life. At least some of the negative reviewers, then, seem unsympathetic to the series's goal of entering "into the real life of the peoples, and to bring them before the reader as they actually lived, labored, and struggled -- as they studied and wrote, and as they amused themselves."

The two most negative reviews appear in British publications and refer to the 1891 publication in England by T. Fisher Unwin. These reviewers seem skeptical that an American woman novelist could be qualified to write about a period of British history in which warfare was central. Among these, *The Speaker* 5 (23 January 1892) is especially interesting for placing the book within a contemporary flourishing of popular history, pointing out a competing series, "Epochs of History" and a number of other similar collections, and lamenting their uneven quality. I have examined several of the Unwin volumes in the Story of the Nations series, in addition to *The Normans*, and have found in none of them the prospectus for the series that appears in nearly all of the Putnam's editions I have seen. The prospectus makes clear the guidelines the authors recruited by Putnam's followed in preparing their volumes:

> It is the plan of the writers of the different volumes to enter into the real life of the

> peoples, and to bring them before the reader as they actually lived, labored, and struggled -- as they studied and wrote, and as they amused themselves. In carrying out this plan, the myths, with which the history of all lands begins, will not be overlooked, though these will be carefully distinguished from the actual history, so far as the labors of the accepted historical authorities have resulted in definite conclusions.

The prospectus also asserts that taken together, the titles in the series constitute a "universal history," suggesting that there will be some effort in each to connect the partial story to some meta-narrative about the meaning of human history. In the absence of this knowledge, it is possible that British reviewers measured Jewett and other volumes in the series against a standard of academic rather than popular history writing, finding her work wanting in just the ways that it embodied the popularizing aims of the series.

Posthumous criticism takes a decisive direction from the beginning with Ferman Bishop's argument that her preparation for the volume included developing a theory of race. Bishop identifies Jewett as a Nordicist, and this label has stuck ever since, even though, as I argue in "Jewett, Nordicism and Race" (in the reports section of the Jewett Collection), it is an anachronistic and seriously misleading characterization. After Bishop, critics nearly always treat this title as a proof-text illustrating Jewett's purported racism, a burden the text does not seem well suited to sustain, as I show in "Jewett's Argument in *The Story of the Normans*."

Related to the question of how Jewett's argument is relevant to nineteenth-century discourse on race is the disputable assertion that her book reveals Jewett's acceptance of Darwinism. In "Jewett's Argument in *The Story of the Normans*," I suggest that her theory of history is traditionally Christian rather than Darwinist.

Another problem in the history of reception is general agreement among critics that Jewett's target audience is juvenile readers. The information I have gathered on The Story of the Nations series shows that in 1885-86, Putnam's marketed the series as for young readers, but it appears the publisher backed away from this, possibly in response to both authors and reviewers. The first few titles that seemed deliberately aimed at young readers drew complaints from reviewers. By the time Jewett was completing her work, Putnam's seems to have changed course. Volumes that appeared in 1886, such as *The Story of Norway* and *The Story of Spain*, included the first version of the prospectus for the series, specifying young readers as the target audience, but *The Story of the Normans* includes the revised prospectus, in which the audience is not specified. While some of the earliest reviewers spoke of the *Normans* as a juvenile title, most did not. Indeed, *Atlantic Monthly* 59 (June 1887) noted that though the series was supposed to be for younger readers, *The Story of the Normans* did *not* seem particularly aimed at this audience. *Sword and Travel*, July 1891, however, thought the British edition *did* read as if intended for young readers.

Some parts of the book may be aimed at younger readers, but this is difficult to judge. Chapter 4, for one example, draws upon Charlotte Mary Yonge's *The Little Duke*, a juvenile title, to present a fictionalized glimpse into the childhood experience of Richard the Fearless. However, it seems less clear that Jewett's adaptation of the story also aims at juveniles. The *Speaker* reviewer finds a mixture of tones, arguing that the narrative seems to veer between talking down to readers and then addressing them as mature adults. This question would seem to require more careful analysis.

Contemporary reviews, then, along with good sales suggest that on the whole *The Story of the Normans* was a successful enterprise for Jewett. However, later readers have seen the text as unsuccessful on its own terms and as unintentionally revealing Jewett's complicity in American racist discourse.

Notices and Reviews

Several of these items are transcribed from a clippings folder collection at the Houghton Library of Harvard University: MS AM1743.26 (17). Each of these is marked "HL." Some clippings are not fully identified; hence their citations are incomplete here.

"Notes" in *The Critic* 158 (8 January 1887), 23.

Prof. E. A. Freeman, when requested by the Messrs. Putnam to write the story of a nation for their popular Nations series, very much to their surprise selected Sicily, a land which, he argued, 'presents before all others the Story of the Nations, not of one only, but of all that have ever been of any moment in the Mediterranean.' The next volumes of this series will be Miss Sarah [Sara] Orne Jewett's 'The Story of the

Normans' and Mme. Ragozin's 'Story of Assyria.' The 'Story of Chaldæa,' by Mme. Ragozin, has been highly praised by Profs. Max Müller and Sayce in letters to Mr. George Haven Putnam.

***The New Orleans Daily Picayune*, 13 February 1887, 10.**

This book belongs to the fine series being published under the general title of "The Story of the Nations." The author, Miss Sarah [Sara] Jewett, is one of the most graceful, sympathetic and popular of the magazine writers, but even her most devoted admirers will be pleasantly surprised to find with what depth, comprehension and eloquence she has lent her pen to the romantic and thrilling career of the Normans. Miss Jewett's book relates chiefly to the Norman conquest of England, and it will always remain one of the best and most readable of the series.

***The Standard* (Chicago), Thursday, 17 February 1887. (HL)**

THE STORY OF THE NORMANS. Told Chiefly in Relation to their conquest of England. By Sarah Orne Jewett. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons. Chicago: S. A. Maxwell & Co. Price. $1.50

Some part of the story of the Normans is given in that volume of this excellent series which treats of Norway itself, and written by Mr. Boyesen. It is that part of it which concerns Norway chiefly. The book now in hand takes up the story where Boyesen leaves it, dealing with the Normans in their relation to English history. Soon after the time of William the Conqueror Norman and Anglo-Saxon, in England, accepted the situation as regards to their joint occupancy of the island, so that, although it is long before the races blend, it ceases to be necessary to treat of either Norman or Saxon as any thing else but English. Thus it is that, as the title to this volume implies, the subject of it is the Normans with principal reference to that notable conquest. The author begins with Norway and the Vikings, but the scene soon changes to that part of France where the Normans made their first great conquest; the race of Rolf the Ganger by whom this conquest was achieved being traced in their various fortunes and in their growth to that measure of power which made William the Conqueror equal to his own great enterprise. With the story of this achievement, a briefer record of the reign of William Rufus and of the first Henry, the book closes. The book is what its title implies -- the "story," not in any large sense the history, of the Normans. Not that it is less true than history, but that it runs lightly along on the surface of events, picturesque, descriptive, with that sort of fluent narrative which makes all this writer's books so fascinating and popular. She has studied the subject, evidently, with conscientious fidelity, but quite as evidently has not attempted to rival those more elaborate works in which the philosophy of the history, the causes and results of what is narrated, is dwelt upon. We think the book will be highly popular with those for whom especially it has been written.

***The Dial*, March 1887, 274.**

Brief Notes on New Books

The name of Sarah Orne Jewett on the title page of "The Story of the Normans," the latest number of the "Story of the Nations" (Putnam), leads us to expect a narrative of blended symmetry and strength; and our expectation is perfectly fulfilled. The quiet, earnest spirit, the scrupulous veracity, the careful construction, the finished style, which mark the essays and stories of Miss Jewett, distinguish this more serious and comprehensive work. She has studied the subject faithfully, mastering it to a degree which enables her to treat it with an original picturesque force. It has all the charm of a romance, with the truth of a veritable history. The record of a people, written with such simplicity and beauty, impresses lastingly the mind of the reader, old or young. "The Story [story] of the Normans" is confined to a few generations, extending from the middle of the ninth to the beginning of the eleventh [twelfth?] century; but as Miss Jewett relates it, it is relieved from all obscurity and elevated to its due rank and importance. We are not to forget that the lives [lines?] of our ancestry go back to the Northman as well as to the Anglo-Saxon, and that to him Englishmen and Americans are indebted for some of their most estimable qualities. It is, in truth, our earlier history we trace in this story of the Norman Dukes.

Dartmouth *Literary Monthly* 1:6 (March 1887), 294-5.

Courtesy of Dartmouth College Library.

Book Reviews

Some peoples, like some individuals, are born brilliant, beautiful, venturesome, as others are

born stolid or stupid. They seem to be endowed with a greater suppleness of mind, a loftier spirit, a keener sense than their fellows. Nor are these gifts the index of inferior force and endurance, as we sometimes think. Nature, like fortune (if they are not identical), has her favorites on whom she lavishes her most precious gifts of mind and body. Among such favorites of Nature were the ancient Persians in western Asia, and in Europe the Normans. The Persians are better known to the classical student than any other Asiatic nation. This is owing to their long struggle, now aggressive, now defensive, with the Greeks and Romans. Nor was this prominence undeserved. The character of the Persian compares not unfavorably with that of his western cousins. The names of the great Cyrus, the wise Darius, the savage Cambyses even, are not unworthy of their place in history beside the heroes of Marathon and Salamis. Æschylus's Persians shows us that the Greeks themselves were far from despising their great foe. We are a little apt to think of the Persians as a vast horde of enervated barbarians, swarming over the world in a course of conquest as purposeless as it was cruel. In this we are eminently unjust to the Greeks and Persians alike. We accord to the former a foolish fear of the latter, cheapen their triumph over them, and we fail utterly to appreciate that force and endurance that have kept the Persians even to our own day a united and discrete people. Far from being enervated, they were one of the most vigorous offshoots of the pure Aryan stock; far from being barbarians, in anything but the Greek sense, they were preëminently intellectual and ready-witted, and remarkably spiritual in their religion and philosophy. They have been called the "nerve of the East," as the Hindoos "the brain." Few Asiatics interest our Western temper more than do this fair shepherd people, with their noble manners and their simple worship on the sunny mountains of Iran. Yet in spite of Persia's superior birthright, fate has decreed that she should never influence the world save negatively. Paradoxically, it seems to have been what Persia has not done that has advanced the race. She did not conquer Greece, and the world will forever be in debt to the culmination of Greek genius incident upon the Persian war. She could not resist Alexander, and thus the Hellenization of the East became of the vastest importance to the subsequent spread of the English church. She could not become mistress of Byzantium, and the lingering life of that too-easily forgotten empire has fulfilled a mission that has been, and is yet to be, of great weight in the destinies of Europe. Persian history has been a thread connecting the somewhat inconsequent rise and fall of the Asiatic powers. Parthian, Babylonian, Jewish, Egyptian, Saracen, and Turkish history all blend with hers. Whether as the ruling power, or the oppressed of all, in the checkered story of the East, Persia is ever a prominent figure in our interest and imagination. Although Mr. Benjamin, our late minister to that country, has written an accurate enough account of its history, his style is bald, sometimes rather careless, and he fails to hold us as the merits of the subject would lead us to expect. We regret, too, that he has not thought it worth while to dwell a little more largely on some subjects than he has. We could well have spared half of his opening chapters on the legends of Persia if he had devoted an equal space to a more adequate account of Zoroaster and his religion, its wonderful revival under Artaxerxes the Sassanian in the third century of our era, and the subtle influence it exerted on the Christianity of that day. Such an account, imperfect as it would have to be, would not have encroached upon the domain of ecclesiastical history, and in this day of Oriental scholarship would not have failed to interest us beyond any mere mythic chronology.

The central position held by the Persians in Asia is paralleled by the Normans in Europe. The story of the Normans is the key to the history of Europe, as that of Persia is to Asiatic history, but with a difference. The Persians were overrun by all nations; the Normans overran all nations. The Persians kept their nationality intact and separate; the Normans assimilated themselves to every people they conquered. The Persians were superior in civilization to their neighbors; the Normans were the pupils of their subjects. The instances are rare in history of a nation not only assimilating a foreign civilization, but developing it beyond those from whom they borrowed it. The Saracens are the only striking instance of this besides the Normans, and they were the less remarkable in that their culture decayed as rapidly as it grew, a bright mirage of the desert as compared with the permanent splendors of the Norman name.

Charlemagne, when he wept at the sight of the Norse long ships sweeping past the shores of his domain, was a poor prophet, mighty emperor though he was. He did not see, it was impossible that he should see, that of that fierce pirate breed was to come the flower of Christian knighthood and kinghood, the fairest and proudest and most royal race that the world had seen for many an age. The Normans were the last of the Teutons to take their position in the new map of Europe: the last, but by no means the least. European history would have been

very dull, very similar to the interminable annals of the German states, but for this saving element of grace and romance. The Normans were the little leaven of imagination that leavened the stolid lump of western Christendom. By their poetic alchemy they transmuted all they touched into that something so exquisitely fair that we call mediævalism. War became a crusade, arms chivalry, the Roman system of patronage feudalism, by their magic use. We judge feudalism and chivalry now by the light of the subsequent abuses of them; and it is only by severe research and much against our prejudices that we can discover and enjoy their pristine loveliness and beneficence. Compare the empire of Charlemagne and the empire of Barbarossa. We are apt to think of the Normans almost wholly in connection with England; but their influence was no less pronounced on France, and even in Italy they are not without witness. It would be very interesting to trace the Norman in the wit and the polish of which the French are so proud. On the other side of the Channel, many though the losses were to England by the Conquest, we doubt if even the most violent Saxon-maniac, if I may use the term, would care to blot out the names of her first dozen kings. With all their faults of pride and treachery, never did more kingly kings, all in all, sit on any throne than the Plantagenets. Miss Jewett has fulfilled a task as agreeable to herself, we doubt not, as to her readers. It is with a fond imagination and a loving hand that she depicts for us this Viking's brood. The fascinating beauty for which they were so famous still haunts their story, and still dazzles those who never saw them nor even the land of their birth. In a vignette style our author's story passes from incident to incident, each delightful, each full of exquisite color and character. In her tenderness and loving reverence Miss Jewett reminds us of Miss Yonge at her happiest. The history of the Normans has been more completely told, but their story never more charmingly, than by Miss Jewett.

We wonder if any strain of Viking blood in Victor Hugo is answerable for the wonderful art with which he describes the awful tempests in *The Toilers of the Sea* and *The Man who Laughs*, and made him the champion of the Norman troubadour against the classicists of the *grand siècle*. However that may be, Victor Hugo has certainly proven that the old Norse *spirit* still exists in France. Whatever follies this nineteenth century has plunged into, and they are not few, it must be admitted that it has been remarkably fertile in great literary names. This is nowhere more true than in France, in its great romantic revival with Hugo as its chief creation and creator. The Norman element seems again to have conquered for itself a place in literary geography....

Persia (The Story of the Nations Series), by S. G. W. Benjamin. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.50.

The Normans (Story of the Nations Series), by Sarah Orne Jewett. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.50.

Central School Journal **(Keokuk, IA), 10 April 1887, 13-14. (HL)**

THE STORY OF THE NATIONS. The Normans. By Sarah Orne Jewett. The Moors in Spain. By Stanley Lane-Poole. New York. G. P. Putnam's Sons. Octavo, beautifully illustrated, per volume, $1.50. The series of histories outlined by the publishers under the title, The Story of the Nations is excellent every way. Mrs. Jewett has told the story of the Normans admirably. In a simple graphic style, she has portrayed the Norman heroes and their conquests, their lives and customs; and withal has been historically accurate. In The Moors of Spain, Mr. Lane-Poole gives a vivid idea of those wonderful people. The history is entertaining as well as instructive and clearly evidences the scholarly ability of its author. The volumes are profusely and elegantly illustrated. Some of the illustrations being unusually fine. Mechanically the books are superb.

The New England Magazine **5:30 (April 1887), 603.**

A LARGE number of American readers should be interested in the history of the Normans, since in their veins runs a rill which, in some degree, had its source in Normandy in times antedating William the Conqueror. In her history of this people, Miss Jewett has treated an important as well as an interesting subject in a sprightly and in a worthy manner. In their own land they are brought to our view in the persons of the first seven dukes, the successive rulers of Normandy, who were "typical of their time and representative of the various types of the national character." The author regards these Normans as the foremost people of their day, "the most thoroughly alive, and quickest to see where advances might be made." This is

observed to be true in regard to their methods and skill in government, and in the extension of their power and their national growth. It is shown in their very striking and original architecture, which has had so wide an influence, and whose beauties are constantly reproduced in modern structures. The same eminence is perceived in the social field; for it is admitted that this people were gifted with sentiment and with good taste, together with intellectual cleverness. Yet as with others there is a dark side to this picture, -- failures in point of noble action, and misfortunes that involved much privation. These were owing, as usual, to a blindness to the inevitable results of certain courses, and the accompanying unwillingness to listen to their best teachers. In order that we may understand the old Norman beauty and grace, their manly strength, courage, and courtesy, the author would have us go now to the shores of Norway, where in the country of the saga-men and the rough sea-kings, beside the steep-shored harbors of the viking dragon-ships, linger still the constantly repeated types of our earlier ancestry, and where the flower of the sagas blooms as fair as ever. This is a rather romantic view of the subject, but in a certain sense, it is probably a true one.

The Story of the Normans, by Sarah Orne Jewett. New York and London. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1887. Cloth, 12 mo.; pp. 373. $1.50.

***The Advance* 22 (21 April 1887), 246.**

Literature

In *The Story of the Normans*, by Sarah Orne Jewett, we have one of the best histories yet published in The Stories of the Nations series. Miss Jewett's stories of New England life have given her an established literary reputation. The same charm of style which has made these stories attractive, and the same power of picturesque and vivid description distinguish this more serious historical work. Her graphic pen gives an air of living reality to the characters and acts of such heroes as William Longsword, Richard the Fearless, Duke Richard the Good, Robert the Magnificent, and the great William the Conqueror. Less complete and valuable as a history of the Norman Conquest of England than Thierry's work, Miss Jewett's work is yet more valuable than his, as supplying a history of the Norman from the first beginnings of his power in Northern Europe, to the culmination of that power in the great victory of William at the Battle of Hastings. As a compendious, convenient and altogether trustworthy manual of Norman history, it is to be preferred above the elaborate and exhaustive work of Sir Francis Palgrave. It's literary merits will give it favor alike with the old and the young. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.)

***North American Review* 144: 366 (May 1887), 548.**

It seems a pity that a collection of brief, popular histories so happily conceived, and for the most part so well executed as "The Story of the Nations" series should in any instance have departed from the general aim of assigning the exposition of a given subject to some writer specially qualified by original research for the work. We are not. aware that the compiler of the volume, [The Story of the Normans; by Sarah Orne Jewett. G. P. Putnam's Sons.] devoted to that division of the Northmen which is mainly associated with the Duchy of Normandy and with England, has such special qualifications, which are, on the contrary, undoubtedly possessed by Professor Freeman, or, if he was unobtainable, by more than one other English student of Northwestern Europe in the early middle ages. Hack work, though it may be performed with a certain neatness and dexterity, is, in our judgment, out of place in a series of this order, whose pretensions to fresh and independent treatment have been, upon the whole, well founded.

***Atlantic Monthly* 59 (June 1887), 859.**

The Story of the Normans, told chiefly in relation to their conquest of England, by Sarah Orne Jewett. (Putnams.) This book belongs to a series designed in a general way for young people, but there is little in Miss Jewett's treatment which especially calls up such an audience. We like best those portions, both at the beginning and end, and where she touches upon the artistic contribution of the Norman life, which enable her to lay aside for a while the strictly historical manner. Miss Jewett seems hardly to feel the more rugged force of the Norman character, or rather she is perhaps a little out of sympathy with Norman savagery, and more desirous of getting to the finer development. Her quiet style makes the book a somewhat amiable presentation of the subject, and she writes sometimes as if the work were an effort. A little sharper historical analysis might have given strength to her work, but we must nevertheless congratulate the author on the success which she has attained in a difficult task.

***Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine* 9:54 (June 1887), 664-5**.

The Story of the Nations.

OF THE late issues of the Stories of the Nations, two* are so intimately connected in subject matter that they may be considered together. *The Story of the Moors* is merely an expansion of one of the most important and romantic of the series of movements forming the Saracenic invasion of Europe. This Saracenic episode is one of the most intensely interesting in the history of Christendom, and yet it is one which has not hitherto received any adequate popular treatment. There is an element of romance and of mystery in the sudden rise of this Asiatic flood, which fiercely menaced the shores of Europe, and then subsided as quickly as it had risen, leaving almost no trace of its presence. The Arabs, for more than one thousand years, had dragged on a colorless, unambitious existence in their desert peninsula. Contented in their low condition, they continued their primitive, uneventful life, just beyond the reach of the mighty movements that were convulsing the then civilized world, uninterested in, even ignoring, the conflicts being waged at their very doors. From this inglorious tranquillity they were aroused by the teachings of one man. Without predecessors to open the way for him, without any preparatory mental development of the people, Mohammed changed not merely their religious thought, but revolutionized their whole character. From a peaceable, contented, trading people, they became a restless, ambitious, implacable race of warriors.

After the death of Mohammed the era of conquest began. He had decreed that the faith of Islam should be spread by the sword, and so successfully was this policy carried out by his successor, that within four years after his death, Chaldea, Babylonia, and the greater part of Syria, including Jerusalem, had fallen into the hands of the Moslems. For one hundred years the irresistible spread of their power continued, until their possessions enclosed the Mediterranean on three sides, and they threatened European civilization from two directions. But the weakness which finally caused their overthrow, began to assert itself almost from the day of the prophet's death. The Saracens never formed a compact nation. The people were always divided into numerous tribes, which never fused into one mass. No attempt was made to assimilate the widely varied peoples who came under their sway, and the Kalifate gained no coherence, but rather became less united as its territory increased. In the election of the third Kalif, but twelve years after the prophet's death, the various factions began to assert themselves, and internal dissensions did not cease until the power of the Saracens had been completely lost.

The period of the greatest power of the Saracens was brief, almost momentary. They spread over Northern Africa and into Spain, but almost before the Goths had been overcome, the Berbers had regained extensive portions of the African conquests. They swept over Arabia, Persia, and Asia Minor, but Constantinople was the rock against which they dashed themselves continuously but ineffectually for one thousand years. It formed the defense of Christendom during the development of the western nations. The eighth century saw the greatest power of the Saracens; the ninth century marked their highest intellectual development. Arts, sciences, and literature flourished until Christendom sent her scholars to drink at the Moslem fountain. But the increase of learning brought with it a scepticism, which sapped the foundation of the Moslem power. The removal of the capital to Bagdad had given a preponderance to Persian influence, and their religious views prevailed. The Koran and the religion of Mohammed were finally attacked by the Commander of the Faithful himself. In the absence of any national unity, Islam had been the only cohesive force of the Kalifatte, and, when it was thus awakened, factions sprang up in every direction, and the conquered territory dropped away part by part.

As compared with the earlier books of this series, *The Story of the Saracens* is marked by a decided improvement in the way of maps, and the same may be said of *The Story of the Moors*; the latter book is also conspicuous for its clear, terse, vigorous, and interesting style. The series does not confine itself to the stories of the nations most familiar to general readers, but does some good work rummaging around in the dark corners of history, and throwing an attractive light upon them. Two of the dark corners thus illuminated are Normandy and Persia.** Perhaps in the case of the former, it would be more proper to say the Normans, for the sojourn of this people in the land to which they gave a name is the least important part of their life-story as a nation. The Normans are peculiarly interesting to us, for they formed a curious element in the development of the English-speaking race, mingling as they did the hardy race characteristics of the north, with the manners and customs of the Latin races of the south, acquired during their contact with those people in France. Miss Jewett has told the story

of this people well. Her style is clear, picturesque and attractive, and she is particularly happy in her vivid presentation of the life and manners of these rough people. Mr. Benjamin writes the story of Persia most sympathetically. He makes the narrative entertaining, almost fascinating, but the early history of this, like most other Oriental countries is more or less shrouded in the mists of succeeding ages, and he has not always been scholarly in separating that which is authentic from what is purely traditionary. The latest issue of the series, *The Story of Ancient Egypt* *** sustains well the excellence of the earlier issues. There is always a danger in calling on a specialist to address a popular audience on his favorite subject, particularly when that audience is composed of those whose minds are so immature as to prevent their entering sympathetically into the discussion of those abstract questions which form his pastime. In the present instance, however, Prof. Rawlinson has succeeded unusually well in combining the spirit of scholarly research with his popular exposition. The subject is handled with that firm grasp and true perspective which one has a right to expect from the reputation of the author, and yet the readers will find the style clear and interesting throughout.

*The Story of the Saracens. By Arthur Gilman. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1887. For sale in San Francisco by Samuel Carson & Co.

The Story of the Moors in Spain. By Stanley Lane Poole. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1887. For sale in San Francisco by Samuel Carson & Co.

** The Story of the Normans. By Sarah O. Jewett. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1887. For sale in San Francisco by Samuel Carson & Co.

The Story of Persia. By G. W. Benjamin. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1887. For sale in San Francisco by Samuel Carson & Co.

The Story of Ancient Egypt. By George Rawlinson and Arthur Gilman. Published by Geo. P. Putnam's Sons. New York: 1887. For sale in San Francisco by Samuel Carson & Co.

***The Nation*, 2 June 1887, 477. (HL)**

The Story of the Normans, told chiefly in relation to their Conquest of England. By Sarah Orne Jewett. [The Story of the Nations.] G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1877.

The romantic history of the Normans has found a worthy chronicler in Miss Jewett, who has made out of her material one of the most interesting volumes of the series. The title-page would lead one to fear lest the earlier history of the Normans and their adventures in the South be somewhat neglected for the English conquest. It is not so, however. The whole career of the Normans is well told: their life in the North, the annals of the duchy, and the adventurous conquest of southern Italy and Sicily. Only, our sense of proportion and completeness would have been better satisfied if this last subject had been carried out a little further -- to the death of William the Good, the end of the Norman period in Sicily, as the death of Henry Beauclerc was in England. The account of the peasants' revolt we will mention as particularly good. There are many excellent illustrations, especially from the Bayeux Tapestry; but we cannot see the pertinence of a full view of Canterbury Cathedral and the doorway of Chartres Cathedral to a history of the Norman period.

The Boston *Globe*, 188_ . (HL)

Sarah Orne Jewett is the author of "The Normans," the latest volume of "The Story of the Nations," a series that better than any other fulfills the purpose of providing youth with the essential facts of the history of every nation, entertainingly and in becoming style. The ease, grace and taste of her imaginary writings do not suffer any hindrance when they deal with the arbitrary realities of historical narrative, but maintain their power, suggesting everywhere that she has entered capably and heartily into the purpose.

This volume, like some of the published ones, contains pages of history familiar to special students only, and covers quite fully a period that is hurried over in nearly every history of England.

And it helps in all its parts to a better appreciation of Norman character than most readers possess. It is issued in the beautiful manner of the series, with extra paper, and superior maps and illustrations, and in keeping in other respects with the high quality of the subject matter.

New York G. P. Putnam's Sons. Boston: Cupples, Upham & Co.

***Daily Chronicle,* 7 January 1891. (HL)**

The Latest Books.

Our Conquerors.

"The Normans: Told chiefly in Relation to their Conquest of England." By Sarah Orne Jewett, (London T. Fisher Unwin)

The story of the Normans is well worthy of a place in the interesting series of "Stories of the Nations." To readers of every nationality the history of that daring and chivalrous race will be interesting; to Englishmen it must have an irresistible charm. From the days when the hardy Norsemen in their rude boats first swooped down upon the shores of Britain, Gaul and Spain, to the time when their dukes met the kings of France to pay them scornful homage at Rouen and Paris, when Norman knights showed their prowess in battle and taught a nobler courtesy to the chivalry of France, when the beauty and charm of Norman ladies took and held captive the Princes of Europe, when Norman valour and genius, after planting a rich if rude literature in the snows of Iceland, left their traces in relics of noble architecture and manifold beauty along this valley of the Seine, built up the kingdom of the two [Sicilies?], and grafted on the sluggish Anglo-Saxon stem the energy which blossomed forth in the Chaucers and Shakespeares, the Drakes and Raleighs of England, the story of the Normans is one brilliant world-romance. We feel a proud wonder at the progress our modern world had made during the last fifty years with the aid of numberless inventions; but what of the contrast between the men of the dragon ships, who came south with Rolf, and startled the people of Jumièges, some time early in the tenth century, and the gallant host assembled in 1066 around Duke William from all parts of Europe by the blessing of Hildebrand and the Pope, when the duke awaited at St. Valery a fair breeze to carry him across to Sussex? The hundred years of Norman progress, with only strong hearts and hands to hew the way, may well compare with the fifty years of modern progress, though the telegraph and the steam-engine, with a train of conquered forces of nature have aided it. We have found out many inventions in modern days, but it may be doubted if our architects of the present time excel those of Normandy, if the examination schools of Oxford present any fairer enthusiasm for learning than did the Abbey of Bec under Lanfranc, if our civilization is adequate to produce a stronger will or a keener intellect than the stern Conqueror's, pious and just withal, who dug so deep the foundations of England's greatness.

Of the original home of the Normans nothing is known. Of course, they came along that mysterious Aryan track which the philologists are painfully rooting up. We learn from anthropologists too, that they must have been preceded in their northern wilds by an earlier race, dark-haired and inferior in stature, of whom traces remain in corners of the Pyrenees, where they have sheltered and preserved their speech, and even among the Celts of North Britain. At some date anterior to history the fair-haired Norsemen dispossessed them, built their huts on the rocky shores of the fjords, and trained themselves for other conquests by braving the icy blasts and battling with the sea storms. After such intractable opponents the feeble folk of southern lands were an easy prey, and the dragon ships became a terror to the shores and river banks of Western Europe and even of the Mediterranean.

The story is told with considerable picturesqueness by the American author of this book; only it reminds me disagreeably sometimes of the American tourist's accents of surprise at the wonders of the Old World. Mr. Freeman's great work has been a mine of wealth for Miss Jewett to quarry from; the volume throughout gives evidence of painstaking research of the second-hand order, and the modesty of the author lays claim to nothing more. What we should most desire, but have by no means got yet, is a book giving from firsthand knowledge the results of such learning as Mr. Freeman's without his cumbersomeness. A writer keeping that end in view and really possessed by his theme, would be secure against such efforts after strong writing, that are really a weakness, as mar the present volume. "William the Conqueror and the Norman Conquest," by Thomas Carlyle, would have been a boon to literature. To those who are not very particular about literary form, Miss Jewett's volume will afford much interesting information. But it certainly is not the story of the Normans "told chiefly in relation to their conquest of England," unless we are content to believe that the Norman conquest of England was achieved on the field of Senise. It only began there. If that victory had not been followed up by a real conquest in the rule of William, the arrow that pierced Harold would not have been of much account in the history of England. Our author apparently knows a few facts about William's reign. A judicious dash of the pen across superfluous sentences that take up about one-third of the volume would have left space for such treatment of the real and lasting conquest

as might have justified the words on the title page.

Manchester *Guardian*, 9 June 1891. (HL)

The Normans: Told Chiefly in Relation to their Conquest of England, By SARAH O. JEWETT. Story of the Nation Series. London: Fisher Unwin, 8vo, pp. xvi, 373.

Miss Jewett is, we believe, known as a novelist in the United States, where she commends herself to the New England public as a pourtrayer of their country life. She has not been well advised in attempting to deal with the history of the Normans in the 11th century. She does not possess the necessary knowledge of the period, nor is she well acquainted with what has been written upon it in recent times. Her book, consequently, has little to commend it to the student, while it is too vague and colourless to please the reading public. It is but fair to add that she seems to have taken some pains to write in good grammar and good taste, and it is possible that if she had known as much about the Normans and their land as she is said to know about New England and the New Englanders, she might have written a book worth reading. As it is, it is a waste of time to read what it has been a waste of time to read and print. In the never-to-be-forgotten life of Mookerjee it is written that "none can be great impromptu," and one may safely recommend this aphorism to Miss Jewett, for certainly history cannot be written impromptu. The illustrations in the volume are of a mixed character; those taken from the Bayeux Tapestry and from an Old English manuscript are good, the maps are fair, but the rest are neither helpful nor artistic.

***Freeman's Journal* (Dublin), 12 June 1891. (HL)**

THE NORMANS: TOLD CHIEFLY IN RELATION TO THEIR CONQUEST OF ENGLAND. By Sarah Orne Jewett. London: T Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square; and G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 1891.

This is one of the valuable historical series of publications entitled "The Story of the Nations." It deals with one of the most notable races of medieval Europe, and traces their life history down to the accomplishment of that which was, perhaps, their most notable achievement, the conquest of England by Duke William, which, the authoress maintains, was a battle won in the cause of progress. At the very outset she refers to the climatic influence of the Gulf Stream upon the southern coast of Norway, and though she does not pursue that topic to ethnological consequences, there is certainly a great deal to be said upon the effect which climate had had in the making of races. The [*unreadable word*] of atmosphere in which the hardy Norsemen were raised must have been to them a source of vigour and energy. In eighteen chapters the manners, customs, and doings of the Normans are set down from the time of their first Duke Rolf, who lived A.D. 911 to the accession to the English Throne of William Rufus in A.D. 1086. The earlier chapters are conversant with the ruthless raids upon English and other shores of those ancient "sea kings" and "vikings," who could build sound and safe ships, or rather boats propelled by oars and sails, who made long and adventurous voyages in them, and who, in a word, were never as much at home as when they were at sea. Grand men, physically speaking, they must doubtless have been, although all the things that they were in the habit of doing would not meet with general approval on the part of the people now, no more than they did even the from the clergy. We read that "if a sea king heard of a fair damsel anywhere along the neighbouring coast he simply took ship in that direction, fought for her, and carried her away in triumph with as much of her goods as he was able to seize." These very ancient Northmen were not farmers -- their country was too barren and ungenial for that -- they were hunters and fishermen. They were also Pagans, and addicted to sacking and plundering the Christian churches when they could get at them, and murdering the ecclesiastics. But in due time they were converted to Christianity, and then the fierceness of their spirit underwent mitigation, and later on, under the influence of feudalism, they developed into Christian knights animated by motives of religion and virtue, and only allowing themselves to fight for noble objects. The authoress makes an interesting quotation from Guizot's History of France of the ritual of twenty-six articles, to which the candidate for knighthood in Normandy in William the Conqueror's early days was obliged to swear before his shield be admitted into the order. The reader will recognize in these a lofty code of ethics; but the authoress warns him against supposing that they were generally held or acted on. "It would not do," she says, "to take these holy principles or the pageant of knight-errantry for a picture of Normandy in general. We can only remind ourselves with satisfaction that this leaven was working in the mass of turbulent, vindictive society. The priests worked very hard

to keep their hold upon their people, and the austerity of the Church proved equal to many a subtle weakness of faith and quick strain of disloyalty. When the priesthood could not make the Normans promise to keep the peace altogether they still obtained an astonishing concession and truce. There was no fighting from Wednesday evening at sunset until Monday morning at sunrise. During these five nights and four days no fighting, burning, robbing, or plundering could go on, though for the three days and two nights left of the week any violence and crime were not only pardonable but allowed. It is mentioned that in William the Conqueror's time every landed gentleman fortified his house against his neighbours, and had a secure and loathsome prison in his cellar for their frequent accommodation. Even Mr. T. W. Russell will admit that the subsequent exclusive use of the cellar for the keeping of the gentleman's wine was at all events a step in the right direction. The book has a number of interesting illustrations, one of them being Falaise Castle, the birthplace of William the Conqueror, whilst the others include representations of Norman ships, men in armour, etc. The printing, paper, and binding are excellent.

***The Publisher's Circular*, 13 June 1891. (HL)**

From Mr. T. Fisher Unwin. -- 'The Normans: told chiefly in relation to their Conquest of England' ('The Story of the Nations'), by Sarah Orne Jewett. The story of the Normans must always be one of paramount importance to English people, by virtue of our descent and intimate association. Miss Jewett begins with 'The Men of the Dragon Ships,' who sailed from Norway and Sweden to carry what may politely be called commerce, but which was in point of fact piracy. From this time she leads us by gradual steps up to the days of Harold Harfager, who, about the middle of the 9th century, did great things in Norway. And from this time it is but a little while before we find one Rolf the Ganger [Ranger] sailing up the Seine from the Hebrides with a small fleet, and casting anchor at that still delightful and picturesque town, Jumièges, five leagues from Rouen. Once established in this district, the Normans soon made themselves known to the old inhabitants of Britain, and from this time forward their history is more or less intimately connected with the history of England. Miss Jewett has a romantic subject, and her volume is one of the most interesting in the series. It is also interesting as showing to many people who never quite realised the fact that the Normans of the Conquest were only French by association, and were directly descended from the old Norse Vikings, from whom we also, by virtue of the Norman invasion, may claim descent.

Leeds *Mercury*, 24 June 1891. (HL)

There was a great difference, Miss Sarah Orne Jewett reminds us at the outset of the new volume in the "Story of the Nation's Series," between the manner of life in Norway in far-off days and that which prevailed in England or France. The Norwegian stone, for instance, though admirably adapted for arrow-heads or axes, was not fit for building purposes. There is little clay, moreover, in the land to fashion into bricks, so that wood has usually been the only material for houses. In England or France castles or fortresses were built at an early age, but the people of Norway could build no strongholds that a lighted torch could not destroy. That perhaps was one reason why they came to trust more to their ships than to their houses, and why some of their great leaders and chieftains declined to live on shore at all. If their houses were somewhat fragile, they were often very gracious, and a good deal of dignity and hospitality have always been characteristic of Norse life. Hospitality was one of the chief virtues of the people, and in ancient times every guest was entertained with stories from the Sagas. Each great family possessed its own Skald, or poet, and they ranked much higher in social position than the minstrels and troubadours of a later age in France. The monkish chroniclers of England and France gave the Vikings a bad name, and there is reason to think that the censure, though not altogether undeserved, was exaggerated. The fact was, the "countries to the southward were spiritless, and bogged down by Church influence and superstition, until they had lost the energy and even the intellectual power of their ancestors five centuries back. The Roman Empire had helped to change the Englishmen and many of the Frenchmen of that time into a population of slaves and laborers, with no property in the soil and nothing to fight for but their own lives." The black raven adorned the Vikings' flags, and it became only too familiar in other harbours than their own. They were bold, energetic, fearless men, and made themselves masters of the high seas. They knew nothing of the mariner's compass, but they studied the sky and steered by the aid of the stars. They carried on board their "dragon-ships" captive ravens,

and when bewildered in which direction to steer for land, they let the birds loose and followed their flight. The Vikings had their own rough code of honour: -- "To join the most renowned company of Vikings in Harold Haarfager's time, it was necessary that the champion should lift a great stone that lay before the King's door, as first proof that he was worth initiating. We are gravely told that this stone could not be moved by the strength of twelve ordinary men. They were obliged to take oath that they would not capture women and children, or seek refuge during a tempest, or stop to dress their wounds before the battle was over." The manner in which the Norsemen, under William Longsword, Richard the Fearless, Robert the Magnificent, and William the Conqueror, took, so to speak, the world by storm, and established their supremacy in France, in England, and even in Italy, is described in a group of picturesque chapters in this volume; and the narrative ends with the period when the vitality of Normandy was turned into new channels, and is to be traced in the history of England, France, and the Low Countries. Miss Jewett contents herself with describing the characters of the first seven Dukes and Edward the Confessor, whom she regards as men who were not merely typical of their time, but representative of the different phases of national character. She thinks that the secret of Normandy's success was "energetic self-development and apprehension of truth; the secret of Normandy's failure was the blindness to the inevitable effects of certain causes, and unwillingness to listen to her best and most far-seeing teachers." Carlyle said once to a friend, "There has never been a nation yet, that did anything great, that was not deeply religious." The age of faith -- the period in which the cathedrals were built and the monasteries founded -- was identical with the greatest era in the history of the Normans. ("The Normans, told chiefly in relation to their Conquest of England." By Sarah Orne Jewett, Illustrated. T. Fisher Unwin, London.)

***John Bull*, 11 July 1891. (HL)**

SHORT NOTICES

The new volume of *The Story of the Nations*, now in course of publication by Mr. Fisher Unwin, deals with The Normans, and has been entrusted to Mrs. Sarah Orne [Ann] Jewett, an American lady, who is somewhat afflicted with a mania for picturesque writing, which is carried to such an extent as to become rather tiresome, even though relieved by such Yankee colloquialisms as the assertion that the Archbishop of Canterbury, martyred by the Danes, "squarely refused" to pay Danegelt, and such a remarkable non sequiter as that in the description of the French King, who died "only thirty-three years of age, in spite of his tempestuous reign and always changing career." But for the general reader such a method of writing history is probably preferable to the old Dryasdust system, and though a severe critic would desire a somewhat more chastened literary style, it may have its attraction for the class for whose benefit the history-made-easy series, of which it forms part, is primarily designed. The story is mainly told in relation to the Norman conquest of England, and a good use has been made of Mr. Freeman's great work, which is a perfect storehouse of material ready at hand for the compiler of such a volume. Mrs. Jewett begins with the men of the dragon ships, and feels a keen delight in tracing back her own pedigree as a citizen of the United States to the hardy race of Northmen, whose beginnings she has here chronicled, though it is not till Rolf the Ganger [Gauger] launched his ship from the island of Vigr, that they emerge from the shadow-realm of Sagaland into the domain of actual history. Though Normandy was not actually reunited to France till 1204, the historian regards the young Prince who was drowned on the White Ship as the last real Norman Duke, and has not carried on her narrative through the long years that intervened, nor does she deal with the influence of the Northmen upon the later Kingdom of France. Her interest attaches more to the growth of the Duchy itself, and to that English conquest which transplanted the main seat of Norman Rule from the banks of the Seine to those of the Thames. Even the Italian side of the history of the Normans, picturesque as it is, does not long divert her from the pursuing of what she regards as the main stream of her story. We cannot say that the book on The Normans will take rank as one of the best volumes of the admirable series of which it forms part, but it is certainly not the least interesting volume in that series, and has so many merits that we cannot but regret the overtendency to the picturesque, and the introduction of some few American vulgarisms which interfere with its literary merit.

***Sword and Travel*, July 1891. (HL)**

The Normans; told chiefly in Relation to their Conquest of England. By SARAH ORNE JEWETT. T. Fisher Unwin.

Who does not wish to know a story so intimately interwoven with our own? Only cubs of the same wolves that bare the Anglo-Saxon people could have crossed the channel, and subdued that unconquerable race. Who those Normans were, and how like the rest of the hardy Norsemen, whose blood is in our veins, this chronicle will tell. It reads to us as if it had been written for the young, -- which we say not to its detriment. The record is not long, but it is full of daring and freaks of fury. This is No. 29 of the "Story of the Nations." These books ought to be a mine of wealth to those who own the copyrights; at any rate, we view them as mental treasures out of whose depths we may dig gold.

***The Speaker* 5 (23 January 1892), 114-15.**

NOVEL HISTORY -- BY A LADY NOVELIST

The Normans; told chiefly in relation to their conquest of England.

By Sarah Orne Jewett. ["Story of the Nations."] London: T. Fisher Unwin.

Of the making of series of popular little history books -- they cannot be called histories -- there seems to be no end. The "Epochs of History" commenced the epidemic, and it has now risen to such a height that every publishing firm, whether of old-established reputation or of mushroom growth, which cannot think of a good title for a series of cheap biographies, such as "English Men of Letters," "English Men of Action," "Great Writers," or the like, must have its historical series. Most of these series have their good volumes. Their harbinger, the "Epochs of History," easily bears the palm. Such books as Dean Church's "Beginning of the Middle Ages," the Bishop of Oxford's "Early Plantagenets," Mr. S. R. Gardiner's "Thirty Years' War" and "Puritan Revolution," and the Bishop of Peterborough's "Age of Elizabeth," are models of their kind. But even this series, graced by such great names and, what is of more importance, by such admirable volumes, was marked by many doleful failures. The bad volumes of this, the best of the cheap historical series, were bad enough; but there has been reserved for this particular collection of national history the "cool malignity," as Charles Lamb would have termed it, of inappropriate illustrations. It is inevitable that all these series should have their failures as well as their successes, and it is only right, for the sake of the publishers as well as the public, to point out these failures, lest the success of one or two good volumes by one or two well-known authors should foist off on unsuspecting readers utterly worthless books which should never have seen the light. The "Story of the Nations," which is Mr. Fisher Unwin's series, has had its share of good volumes. Mr. Morfill's "Russia," Mr. Bradley's "Goths," Mr. Morrison's "Jews under Roman Rule," and Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole's "Barbary Corsairs," are all valuable works, and absolutely the only books in the English language treating their respective subjects according to the lights of the latest historical research. Some of the others, which treat of well-worn subjects, are accurate and spirited little text-books. But there have been some lamentable failures -- lamentable alike for the purchaser, who has been induced to buy the worthless volume because it was one of the series, and for the reviewer, who feels it his duty to speak out clearly and emphatically against dishonest work.

"The Normans" is an instance in point. It is a curious fact that the small book upon "The Normans in Europe" in the "Epochs of History" was also, to put it mildly, not a success. And yet it might be supposed that upon no historical era would it be so easy to write an interesting and accurate little book. Not only is the subject picturesque in the extreme, affording many dramatic situations and striking portraits, but the abundant materials have been worked up by one of the three great living English historians, Professor E. A. Freeman, into a narrative at once interesting and complete. An analysis of the authorities used by Miss Jewett in the book under review will give some evidence of the absolute unfitness of the lady to write an historical work. She naturally quotes largely from Professor Freeman, but the only authors whom she mentions with words of praise are Mr. John Addington Symonds and Miss Charlotte M. Yonge! The former she calls "a charming writer," and no one will cavil at the epithet: but when she deliberately founds the greater part of a chapter on a story for children called "The Little Duke," written by Miss Yonge very many years ago, and speaks with a certain poverty of epithet of this "charming story" in the text, it is time to protest. Among the authorities quoted are the Rev. A. H. Johnson's "Normans in Europe" in more than one place, Sir Francis Palgrave, and, on the Icelandic sagas, instead of writers of reputation on the subject, Depping's "Voyages Maritimes des Normands." But Miss Jewett's knowledge of English novelists and appreciation of their writings is evidently more extensive than her acquaintance with the standard historians of the epoch she attempts to describe. Dickens's "Child's History of England," probably for the first time since its publication, is actually quoted as the authority for an historical statement.

"England was made a great grave," says Dickens of the Norman Conquest, "and men and beasts lay dead together," and Miss Jewett calmly accepts this remark as being of sufficient value to deserve quotation. Even more remarkable is her admiration of Lord Lytton as an authority on Anglo-Saxon manners. Surely in this year of grace it would hardly be expected that anyone, even an American lady-novelist, should deliberately say of the family of Godwine, "Lord Lytton's novel, called 'Harold,' makes this famous household seem to live before our eyes" (p. 192).

But enough of Miss Jewett's qualifications for writing or understanding history. Let us turn now to her style of composition. Its great advantage is that it is entirely her own. Without the simplicity of Lady Callcott's "Little Arthur's History of England," it seems in places inspired by a systematic attempt to write down to the level of her readers, whom she then expects to be very juvenile, while elsewhere she indulges in curious philosophical dissertations intended for mature readers. The result of the mixture is occasionally absolutely ridiculous. A few quotations, taken at random on opening the book casually, will justify these remarks. Take, for instance, from the first chapter, entitled "The Men of the Dragon Ships," these two passages:

> "Think of those clumsy little ships out on such a journey with their single masts and long oars! Think of the stories that must have been told from town to town after these strange, wild Northern foes had come and gone! They were like hawks that came swooping down out of the sky, and though Spain and Rome and Greece were well enough acquainted with wars, they must have felt when the Northmen came as we should feel if some wild beast from the heart of the forest came biting and tearing its way through a city street at noontime" (p. 20).

Miss Jewett understands the feelings of the Vikings as thoroughly as those of the Greeks and Romans and Spaniards harried by them.

> "As for the old men," she says, "who had been to the fights and followed the sea-kings and brought home treasures, we are sure that they were always talking over their valiant deeds and successes, and urging their sons and grandsons to go to the South. The women wished their husbands and brothers to be as brave as the rest, while they cared a great deal for the rich booty which was brought back from such expeditions. What a hard thing it must have seemed to the boys who were sick or lame or deformed, but who had all the desire for glory that belonged to any of the Vikings, and yet must stay at home with the women" (p. 27).

The following description of the battle of Hastings is too sublime for criticism: --

> "And the fight grew hotter and hotter, the Normans were beaten back, and returned again fiercely to the charge, down the hill, now up the hill over the palisades, like a pouring river of men, dealing stinging sword-thrusts -- dropping in clumsy heaps of javelin-pricked and axe-smitten lifelessness; from swift, bright-eyed men becoming a bloody mass to stumble over, or feebly crying for mercy at the feet that trampled them; so the fight went on. . . . There was no sound of guns or smoke of powder in that day, only a fearful wrangling and chopping, and a whir of arrow and lance and twang of bowstring. Yes, and a dolorous groaning as closer and closer the armies grappled with each other, hand to hand" (pp. 307, 308).

A more charming "derangement of epitaphs" has not been seen for many a year in a work pretending to be serious.

Miss Jewett's philosophical reflections are couched in equally graphic and exquisitely comic sentences. Here are two as examples. The first contains her ideas on the effect of the Norman conquest of England: --

> "Heaven send dampness now and bleak winds, and let poor Eadward's sufferings be short! There was work for a man to do in ruling England, and Eadward could not do it. The Englishmen were stupid and dull; they ate too much and drank too much; they clung with both hands to their old notions of state-craft and government. It was the old story of the hare and the tortoise, but the hare was fleet of foot and would win. Win? Yes, this race and that race; and yet the tortoise was going to be somehow made over new, and keep a steady course in the right path, and learn speed, and get to be better than the old tortoise as the years went on and on" (pp. 243, 244).

The second shows her profound grasp of the effects of war: --

> "Just here we might well stop to consider the true causes and effects of war. Seen in the largest way possible, from this side of life, certain forces of development are enabled to assert themselves only by outgrowing, outnumbering, outfighting their opposers. War is the conflict between ideas that are

> going to live and ideas that have passed their maturity and are going to die. . . . Wars may appear to delay, but in due time they surely raise whole nations of men to higher levels, whether by preparing for new growths or by mixing the new and old. Generals of battalions and unreckoned camp-followers alike are effects of some great change, not causes of it. And no war was ever fought that was not an evidence that one element in it had outgrown the other and was bound to get itself manifested and better understood. The first effect of war is incidental and temporary; the secondary effect makes a link in the grand chain of the spiritual education and development of the world" (pp. 255, 256).

It is not pleasant for a reviewer to hold up a lady to ridicule. Miss Jewett is a lady who has won some fame as a novelist in the United States; she should stick to her last and not infringe on the domain of the historical writer. To write history needs a special training; it needs wide reading; it demands unceasing labour and whole-souled devotion. A man or woman who can reel off fluent sentences is not thereby justified in thinking he or she can write history, and, above all, popular history, the hardest task in which many eminent historians have failed. We must conclude, however, in spite of seeming ungallant, to amuse our readers by a last gem from Miss Jewett's chaplet: --

"One familiar English word of ours -- hurrah, -- is said to date from Rolf's reign. Rou the Frenchmen called our Rolf; and there was a law that if a man was in danger himself, or caught his enemy doing any damage, he could raise the cry Ha Rou! and so invoke justice in Duke Rolf's name. At the sound of the cry, everybody was bound, on the instant, to give chase to the offender, and whoever failed to respond to the cry of Ha Rou! must pay a heavy fine to Rolf himself. This began the old English fashion of "hue and cry," as well as our custom of shouting Hurrah! when we are pleased and excited" (p. 49).

Editor's Note

The reviewer seems to assume it is obvious that Jewett is practicing poor history in her discussion of the word "hurrah." As the *Oxford English Dictionary* does *not* support this etymology, Jewett's account probably is not correct, and her use of "is said" hints at her skepticism. However, she is paraphrasing reasonably authoritative sources when she tells this story in Chapter 2. Sir Francis Palgrave presents this idea about the origin of "hurrah," in *The History of Normandy and of England, Volume 1*, 696-8. See also Duncan, *The Dukes of Normandy*, pp. 21-2, and "Jewett's Sources."

Undated Reviews from the Houghton Library Clippings Folder

***The Churchman.* (HL)**

THE STORY OF THE NORMANS. By Sarah Orne Jewett. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.)

"The Story of the Nations" series sustains the high reputation it has already attained in this its latest volume. The gifted authoress tells her story of the Normans in that enchanting manner that comes from a thorough acquaintance with the period which she has made in a sense her own, together with an enthusiastic interest in it. Mr. Freeman has told, it would seem, all that can be known of the "Norman period," that is, the period of the Norman conquest of England. His volumes are exhaustive, but are designed for older readers. Here the story is condensed, simplified and adapted to a younger student. The volume is copiously illustrated with cuts new and old, many being the familiar reproductions of the Bayeux tapestry.

***Church Messenger.* (HL)**

"The Story of the Normans." By Sarah O. Jewett. 12 mo., 373 pp. Cloth, extra, $1.50. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York.

This volume is number twelve of the "Story of the Nations" series. It is a clear, spirited account of the Norman people -- that people whose language and history is so largely our own. It gives an account, among a thousand other events and persons, of the battle of Hastings, of Richard the Good, Robert the Magnificent, Matilda of Flanders, Harold, the Dragon Ships, and is fully illustrated. This series is one of the most valuable ever issued by the Putnams. Rome, Greece, Norway, Spain, Carthage, the Moors in Spain, Chaldea, Germany, Hungary, Saracens, Jews, had all been issued, but none exceeds the "Story of the Normans." The authoress maintains in this volume a high standard for herself and her topic, and the reader will delight to have read her account -- from Falaise to Odo.

***The Critic*. (HL)**

The Normans and the Persians.

The famous French picture of 'Les Glaneurs' contains a wealth of moral truth, behind its mere

landscape perfection, that may well be applied in other directions -- for instance, to the writing of history. After the heat of the day is passed, after the great historians have come and gone, after the epoch-making volumes based on original research have been written and published in expensive form, viola! Here come along the patient 'gleaners' and popularizers who pick up the overlooked grains and lost stitches, open out the closely-written chronicle of adventure, select the delectable portions of the immense 'story of the nations,' and transforming them by an airy touch, a grace of arrangement, a perfection of style or a gift for saliencies and charment, present the tale to us anew, stripped of all its cumbersome impediments. Such is the duty of the gleaner as the hum and the murmur of the host of harvesters has passed by; such the duty of the popularizer of the great historians after the mighty volumes have been written and are at rest.

One of the most graceful of these gleaners -- she does not pretend to be more -- is Miss Sarah Orne Jewett, to whom has been entrusted the task of popularizing the works of Freeman and others, in 'The Story of the Normans'. Miss Jewett's style has a delightful effect as a whole. While one can rarely put one's finger on a particular expression or passage and admire its felicity, yet there is something in her work better than even that: a quietness and evenness, a grace and simplicity all her own, not based for its charm on epigram or *curiosa felicitas*. This peculiarity is more than ever evident in her new book, which fills a charming corner in the historical library to which it is a contribution. In eighteen chapters she takes up, as it were, the Bayeux Tapestry and unwinds its marvels before our eyes -- that striking story of Viking and Norman, of Saxon and Dane, wrought in imperishable embroidery by the fingers of unknown women celebrating a great deed. And not only this: she traces the ins and outs of the marvelous threads, the beginnings and ends of Norman life in Scandinavia and France -- how they radiated this way and that, across channel and sea, from Norway to Normandy, from Rouen to Canterbury. In her story of the Seven Dukes, from Rolf to William, she unravels for us many an intricacy, grouping her facts about this or that heroic figure, giving us not only the hundred yards of storied tapestry over again, but a series of plaques and plastic reliefs filled with historic tableaux. The Conquest of England by the Normans is traced to its true sources back among the Norwegian spruces and fjords -- not simply to the poppies and bluettes of Normandy. It is shown to be not a mere episode but a great movement of races superabounding with energy, eager to find resting places, intolerant of opposition, beating at the feet of the crags of England for many hundred years and at last finding entrance through the gates of Senlac. Her account of all these things has a woman's daintiness and a refinement and love of the picturesque. With a combination of crewel and canvas she produces her 'document in worsted,' too, making us thankful that such a thing as style still survives, and along with it a stray person or two to exercise it. We are much mistaken if "The Story of the Normans" does not turn out to be one of the favorite volumes of the series.

The "Story of the Persians", by S. G. W. Benjamin, late United States Minister to Persia, in the same series, has been entrusted to the very competent hands of the Hon. S.G. W. Benjamin, late United States Minister to Persia, an artist and author of exceptional gifts and opportunities. Unhappily for his 'story,' Mr. Benjamin had just published a delightful volume -- "Persia and the Persians" -- treating very fully of the present condition and prospects of the empire of Sohrab and Rustum; so that, in his 'Story of the Persians," to avoid repeating itself, he was thrown back upon the comparatively uninteresting legendary and mediæval annals of the country which had already been more or less covered by 'Greece,' 'Assyria,' 'Alexander's Empire' and 'Chaldæa' of the same series. For the legends he is indebted to the great poem of Firdausi (lately reviewed in these columns), which had already been beautifully and abundantly given by Atkinson in his verse-and-prose translation (Chandos Classics). For much of the early historical part Herodotus and the Behistun Inscription are his authorities. The style of the book is more like that of Vámbéry's 'Hungary,' and is therefore less adapted to popular reading than the 'Normans.' The 'winged word' is apparently the birthright of few among 'articulate-speaking men,' and those few keep it unfortunately only too much to themselves. A fascinating chapter might have been written on the poets of Persia, but we find it not. Mr. Marion Crawford, with his knowledge of Oriental life and language, would have reveled in such a subject, as we gather from the gorgeous chapters of 'Zoroäster.' Again, we nowhere find a connected or coherent account of Persian geography -- a subject interesting in the extreme and absolutely necessary to the understanding of the tenacity with which Persian types and customs have survived from the times of Cyrus the Elder down to Nasr-ed-Deen. In fact it is evident that we must look for the 'story' of Persia elsewhere than in this book, which follows the old chronological

system only too pertinaciously, and leaves us to gather from the author's other writings what we had a right to expect from this one.

Irvine *Democrat-Herald.* (HL)

To G. P. Putnam's Sons' handsome and valuable series, *The Story of the Nations* -- now too well known to need further definition of its scope and purpose -- Miss Sarah Orne Jewett contributes a picturesque study of that bold and aggressive race of medieval Europe, whose personality, temper and traditions, engrafting themselves so firmly in early centuries upon the soil of Franks and Saxons, survive under much altered conditions, modernized and adapted to the exigencies of universal civilization, in the characters and governments of the France, England and America of to-day. Of some thirty-two volumes designed for the series, and whose subjects are already decided upon, fourteen have now appeared and have been for the most devoted to nations of remote, or comparative antiquity, the authors having been individually qualified by special study or research for their respective tasks. Miss Jewett presents a romantic descriptive narrative of successive historic phases in the life, as a people, of the hardy Northmen and of their continuous career of conquest and territorial acquisition, specially considering their progression and development in relation to their final subjection of England in the eleventh century. The volume, like all of the series, has numerous illustrations and maps.

St. John's *Globe.* (HL)

Sarah Orne Jewett furnishes to "The Story of the Nations" series *The Story of the Normans*, which she tells chiefly in relation to their conquest of England. But not wholly so, for she gives us a readable and indeed fascinating account of the old Norsemen, those dashing sailors and fighters, the [sagas ?] of dragon ships, the vikings and seakings of Scandinavia, who swooped down upon Britain and Gaul, who even explored the shores of the Mediterranean, and who settled down for a time at least in many parts of Europe; and who made a permanent home in what we know now as Normandy. And from Normandy, as all schoolboys know, started out William the Conqueror to capture Britain and to lay the foundation of a great nation which has ever since been ploughing the waves with her ships, and which, for many years, has been planting colonies under every sky. The great Normans, the leading incidents in their lives, the civilization they rejected, the civilization they accepted, and their history generally, is depicted with a graphic [pen ?] -- indeed, there is not a dull or an insipid page in Miss Jewett's book, and the closing passages of it are really eloquent:

"At the beginning of the Norman absorption into English I shall end my story of the founding and growth of the Norman people. The mingling of their brighter, firmer, more enthusiastic and visionary nature with the stolid, dogged, prudent and resolute Anglo-Saxons belongs more properly to the history of England. Indeed, the difficulty would be in not knowing where to stop, for one may tell the two races apart even now, after centuries of association and affiliation. There are Saxon landholders and farmers, and statesmen in England yet -- unconquered, unpersuaded and un-Normanised. But the effect on civilization of the welding of the two great natures cannot be told fairly in this or any other book -- we are too close to it and we ourselves make too intimate a part of it to judge impartially. If we are of English descent we are pretty sure to be members of one party or the other. Saxon yet or Norman yet, and even the confusion of the two forces renders us not more able to judge of the either, but less so. We must sometimes look at England as a later Normandy; and yet, none the less, as the great leader and personified power that she is and has been these many hundred years, drawing in strength from the best of the Northern races, and presenting the world with great men and women as typical of these races and as grandly endowed to stand for the representative of their time in days to come, as the men and women of Greece were typical, and live yet in our literature and song. In the courts and stately halls of England, in the market-places, and among followers of the sea or of the drum, we have seen the best triumphs and glories of modern humanity, no less than the degradations, the treacheries, and the mistakes. In the great pageant of history we can see a nation rise, and greaten, and dwindle, and disappear like the varying lifetime of a single man, but the force of our mother England, is not yet spent, though great changes threaten her, and the process of growth needs winter as well as summer. Her life is not the life of a harborless country, her fortunes are the fortunes of her generosity. But whether the Norman spirit leads her back into slowness and dullness, and lack of proper perception in emergencies or necessary change, still she follows the right direction and heads the way. It is the Norman graft upon the sturdy old Saxon tree that has borne the best fruit among

the nations -- that has made the England of history, the England of great scholars and soldiers and sailors, the England of great men and women, of books and ships and gardens and pictures and songs! There is many a gray, old English house standing among the trees and fields, that has sheltered and nurtured many a generation of loyal and tender and brave and gentle souls. We shall find these men and women who, in their cleverness and courtliness, their grace and true pride and beauty, makes us understand the old Norman beauty and grace and seem to make the days of chivalry alive again. But we may go back farther still, and discover it the lonely mountain valleys and fjord-sides of Norway, even a simpler, courtlier, and nobler dignity. In the country of the Sagamen and the rough seakings, beside the steep-shored harbors of the Viking dragon ships, linger the constantly repeated types of an earlier ancestry, and the flower of the sagas blooms as fair as ever. Among the red roof and gray wall of the Norman towns, or the faint, bright colors of its country landscapes, among the green hedgerows and golden wheat fields of England, the same flowers grow in more luxuriant fashion, but old Norway and Denmark sent out the seed that has flourished in richer soil. Today the Northmen, the Normans, and the Englishmen, and a young nation on this western shore of the Atlantic, are all kindred, who, possessing a rich inheritance, should own the closest of kindred ties."

Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, are the publishers of this excellent series of works. For sale at Messrs. J. & A. McMillan's, St. John.

Inter-Ocean. **(HL)**

THE STORY OF THE NATIONS -- THE STORY OF THE NORMANS.-- By Sarah Orne Jewett. (New York: Putnams' Sons.) The heroic life of the Norman furnishes a fine field, and well has Miss Jewett occupied it. The story as told relates chiefly in relation to the Norman conquest of England. The heading of the chapters are: "The Men of the Dragon Ships;" "Rolf, the Gouger;" "William Longsword;" "Richard, the Fearless;" "Duke Richard, the Good;" "Robert, the Magnificent;" "The Normans in Italy;" "The Youth of William the Conqueror;" "Across the Channel;" "The Battle of Voles-Dunes;" "The Abbey of Bee;" "Matilda of Flanders;" "Harold, the Englishman;" "The Battle of Hastings;" "William the Conqueror," and "Kingdom and Dukedom." The volume is well illustrated, and contains a map of Europe at the close of the century.

Interior. **(HL)**

"*The Story of the Normans,*" by Sarah Orne Jewett, is the latest addition to the series, "The Story of the Nations." It is a grand and worthy portrayal of that hardy race who first appear before us a vigorous, sea-faring people inhabiting the coasts of the Baltic, and of the two peninsulas which form the Norway and Sweden and Denmark of to-day. They were the Norsemen, the old Vikings who harassed England, ravaged the coasts of Germany and France, settled Iceland, colonized Greenland, discovered and settled America. After detailing the interesting history of the settlement of the Normans in France and Italy, through seven of its eighteen chapters, the volume begins, what it is its main purpose to tell -- the story of the Normans in relation to their conquest of England, and begins that story with the youth and life of William the Conqueror, and the condition of England under the Danes. Then come the Norman invasion, the battle of Hastings, the conquest of the country, and the conclusion of a story full of stirring events and which will be considered by many as, thus far, the best of the series. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York; A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.

Portland *Oregonian*. (HL)

STORY OF THE NATIONS. The Normans. By Sarah Orne Jewett. New York: G. P. Putnam's Son's. Sold by J. K. Gill & Co. Portland.

One of Hamlet's shrewdest observations was made as he stood in the churchyard, watching the gravedigger working and singing at his work, -- "The hand of little occupation hath e'en the daintier sense." And if one did not know Miss Jewett's other work there would be a temptation to suppose that the daintiness of the sense displayed in the last volume in "The Story of the Nations" came from little occupation with historical writing. And perhaps even Miss Jewett could not preserve to her style so much freshness if she wrote a series of historical narratives. But in the present instance, "The Story of the Normans," it is enough to say that the tale of that bold race is told with the same vivacious tranquility -- as it were -- the same charm of diction, the same easy and simple continuity, which her admirers have long been accustomed to prize in "Deephaven" and in succeeding sketches of country life in New

England. No better occasion could be taken for pointing out the advantage of a right literary manner, to whatever kind of composition it may be applied. Here is a short and necessarily crowded epitome of many years, of different countries and a long-lived race, which yet contains many passages even more admirable and pleasing than this:

They brought him down to the great hall of the palace, and there he found all the barons who had come to his father's burial, and the boy was told to pull off his cap to them and bow low in answer to their salutations. Then he slowly crossed the hall, and all the barons walked after him in a long procession, according to rank -- first, the Duke of Brittany, and last the poorest of knights, all going to the church of Notre Dame, the great cathedral of Rouen, where the solemn funeral chants had been sung so short a time before.

If more history could be written in this fashion, we cannot help thinking that more people would read it, and there is no doubt that they would get greater good from it. Besides the writing, Miss Jewett has so managed her Normans in their rude beginnings, in France, in Italy and in England, that the different threads of the story make a web which has variety without confusing the eye. In short, the book is done with nice art. It is as far from a harum scarum sketch as from an ordinary digest, and the reader who comes to it for instruction will find pleasure in its pages.

Concord *People Patriot.* (HL)

The Story of the Normans, told chiefly in relation to their conquest of England, by Sarah Orne Jewett. 12 mo., 373 pages. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. For sale in Concord at Guernsey's Book Store. Price, $1.50.

The title of this work and the name of the author are, together, ample guaranty of the fact that it is one of the most valuable of the series of Historical Studies for the young which the Messrs. Putnam have been issuing at frequent intervals for a year or two past.

No epoch of the world's history holds more of interest for the student, and especially the American student, young or old, than that covering the period of the Norman conquest of our parent isle, and the characteristics of no people of ancient or modern times are studied with greater zest than those of the Normans; and when the story is told in the simple, yet fascinating language of Miss Jewett, it becomes no longer history, but is clothed with all the charms of romance.

Wheeling, W. Va *Register*. (HL)

STORY OF THE NORMANS, by SARAH ORNE JEWETT. 375 pages; illustrated. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons'

This volume is one of the series of the "Story of the Nations" issued by G. P. Putnam's Sons. The book contains a concise and entertaining history of the Normans from the earliest times. The first chapter tells of the Norman seamen and their exploits. In succeeding chapters Rolf the Ganger [Granger], Charles the Simple, and William Longsword, are told of. The founding of Normandy, Charlemagne, Richard the Fearless, Duke Richard the Good, Robert the Magnificent, the Normans in Italy, the Youth of William the Conqueror, the Normans in England, the Battle of Val-es-Dunes, the Abbey Bec, Natal Day of Flanders, Harold the Englishman, the Battle of Hastings, William the Conqueror and Kingdom and Dukedom, each form interesting chapters in the work. The volume is a handsome one and is one of the best of the series.

____ *Register* (HL).

THE STORY OF THE NORMANS. Told chiefly in Relation to their Conquest of England. By Sarah Orne Jewett. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. -- There seems to be something infectious in the vigor and romance of the Northmen, which is caught by those who write about them. Something of the freedom and freshness which marked Boyesen's "Story of Norway" appears in this sketch of the fortunes of some of the sons of Norway who made their mark on three empires and affected the fortunes of all modern Europe. For the young, who commonly get only vague ideas of the Normans before the battle of Hastings, this story will be of exceeding value. It reveals some of the roots of modern history in an attractive manner, and shows what manner of men their Norman ancestors and predecessors were. Commonly, we watch the Normans going to England; and the point of view makes a difference. We see the inevitable destiny of England, as it is preparing on both sides of the Channel, and are glad when the strong Norman hand is laid upon the weak but turbulent hordes of half-civilized England. The story is told with sufficient fullness to give a clear idea of the events which led up to William the Conqueror, and made him necessary. For graver problems and more elaborate

researches, the reader may seek the greater works of Freeman, who has been liberally drawn upon, as he should be, in the preparation of such a book. "The Story of the Normans" is thoroughly good and readable.

Denver *Republican.* (HL)

THE STORY OF THE NORMANS, by Sarah Orne Jewett. New York, Putnam's Sons; Denver, Chain, Hardy & Co. Price $1.50.

This is an addition to the Stories of the Nations series. It is uniform in type and size with its predecessors, and is delightfully written. The style is more that of romance than of history.

***The School Journal* (New York). (HL)**

THE STORY OF THE NORMANS. Told Chiefly in Relation to Their Conquest of England. By Sarah Orne Jewett, New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. The Knickerbocker Press, 373 pp, $1.50.

This volume of "The Story of the Nations" is of immediate interest to us, especially the first chapter, which gives a full and clear description of the Northmen. These "Men of Dragon Ships" have a great charm for Americans, as a portion of our early history is, in a rather mysterious manner, associated with them. As it is the plan of the writers of the different volumes of this series to enter into the real life of the people of the country, and to bring them before the reader, as they actually lived, labored, fought and struggled, studied, wrote, and amused themselves, this volume is perhaps one of the most charming; for the Normans have produced some of the grandest men and characters known to history. Besides being a description and life-history of this wonderful people, the way in which the narration is given is an additional charm. Sarah Orne Jewett is a pleasant writer, and a book from her pen, once commenced, is not set aside to rest until it is finished. This volume is well illustrated with pictures that assist the reader in appreciating the country and its people with ease. There are also several maps, and a genealogical diagram, giving the Dukes of the Normans.

____ *Secretary* (Hartford, CT). (HL)

THE STORY OF THE NORMANS. Told Chiefly in Relation to their Conquest of England. By Sarah Orne Jewett. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Hartford, Brown & Gross. $1.50).

This volume is one in the admirable series now being issued under the general title of "The Story of the Nations." They are by different authors of established reputation, are of uniform size and style, and are all finely illustrated. Quite a historical library will be formed by the set when complete for the young for whom they are specially designed. They are a series of graphic historical studies, stories of the different nations that have attained prominence in history. The present is of special interest to us as appertaining to the romantic adventures of our own ancestors. Human history is a sad tale of wrong and outrage, and to read this ancient story of bloody wars and fierce oppressions, and "the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter; and on the side of their oppressors there was power; but they had no comforter;" makes one feel how greatly the world has improved. This is emphatically true of the so-called Christian nations. In deploring present evils we are too apt to forget how great are the advances which have really been made.

Troy *Times* (Now *Times-Record*, New York). (HL)

Sarah Orne Jewett has written a creditable work, "The Story of the Normans," in "The Story of the Nations" series. This volume relates to the Normans more particularly in their raids which led up to the conquest of England, but the picture is complete enough for the ordinary historical purposes. Of all the races which ravaged any portion of Europe during its earlier history, the Normans were the most daring and possessed the most admirable traits. The story of their adventures reads like a romance. The series of which this work is a member comes from G. P. Putnam's sons, New York City. Troy: Nims & Knight.

***Unitarian Review.* (HL)**

*The Story of the Norman*s, by Sarah Orne Jewett, "is told chiefly in relation to their conquest of England." Its style is more familiar than that of most of its predecessors in the series to which it belongs, and one misses those marks of eminent scholarship which Mr. Freeman would have left on every page. But Miss Jewett cannot write a dull book; and her compilation is not only pleasing in its manner, it also shows thorough preparation. It would be well in all the volumes of this series to give a list

of the principal authorities, as Miss Jewett has failed to do. On the other hand, it is an improvement to insert the maps in the body of the work instead of placing them inside the covers. (G. P. Putnam's Sons.)

Wisconsin? (HL)

STORY OF THE NORMANS. Told Chiefly in Relation to Their Conquest of England. The Story of the Nations Series. By Sarah Orne Jewett. G. P. Putnam's Sons, publishers, New York and London.

As a story-teller Sarah Orne Jewett is pre-eminent; and in that field of fiction she has achieved marked success. In the volume in hand she has bent her acknowledged ability as a story writer to the task of telling the history of the Normans from their earliest movements as conquerors. The book opens with a genealogical tree with the branches from which came the Norman dukes, and a map of Europe at the close of the eleventh century. The story of the Normans is told with the breezy air of a writer of fiction, but withal it bears the marks of close study and determination to cover the subject in all its points. The Norman tree is followed with fidelity from the root, and the foliage of fact is given a tint of romance. The editor of "The Story of the Nations" series chose well when he allotted "The Story of the Normans" to Sarah Orne Jewett.

____ *at Work*? (HL)

The Story of the Normans, as told by Sarah Orne Jewett, forms an interesting addition to the valuable series of the "Story of the Nations" in course of publication by G. P. Putnam's Sons. The story is told chiefly in relation to their conquest of England, and the old sea-kings and Vikings fairly live once more in these pages. Rolf the Ganger [Gauger], William Longsword, Richard the Fearless, Duke Richard the Good, Robert the Magnificent, Matilda of Flanders, are characters unsurpassed by any in the most fascinating pages of romance. The important battles of Val-es-Dunes and Hastings are described in a most graphic manner. Though the author has confined herself to the period of the first seven dukes and Edward the Confessor, who were men typical of their time and representative of the various types of national character, her book is a very fair description of the character of this remarkable people, their daring and intrepid spirit, and their rapid progress and development. The book will not only charm all readers, but will be found as instructive as it is fascinating. Like the previous volumes in the series it is plentifully and handsomely illustrated.

Undated Reviews probably of the London 1891 Edition

London *Morning Post*. (HL)

There are various ways of writing history. One of these is to present the sum of known facts, coordinating and subordinating and generally arranging with as much skill and regard to truth and consistency as may be. Another and more excellent way is to be guided by the various trustworthy authorities, to follow them loyally as they explode the several popular misconceptions about each period, not to be afraid to leave debateable matter unsettled, but rather to be content with indicating and arguing in support of probable theories and reasonable conjectures in regard to the [*unreadable word*]. This sort of inquiry is, after all, true history; masses of facts and statements presented in order of time can claim no other title than compilation. On the whole Mrs. Jewett appears to have tried to follow the better way. She is fortunate in her period, and evidently appreciates it fully. For the Norseman holds our English interest by a weird claim that is all his own. This it is combined with the force of nerve of Charles Kingsley that makes his "Hereward the Wake" so good a book. Mrs. Jewett's first chapter is a series of vivid pictures of old Norse life -- the household, the large hospitality, the pastimes, and the sagas. These compilations in verse or prose were the fruit of a wild northern genius. "They were evolved without models, and disappeared at best without imitation; and it is most remarkable that in [is] the island of Iceland, of which the name alone is a sufficient hint of its frightful climates, and where the very name of poet has almost become a wonder" in this very island the Skalda produced innumerable sagas during a space of time which covers the twelfth, thirteen, and fourteenth centuries. The men of Normandy were originally Norsemen, who came down south to find a local habitation and bestow a name. In the admirable chapter with which the book opens all this is traced, and the reader familiarised with the Norse atmosphere, and so enabled to read further both intelligently and appreciatively. "The old chronicles of Scandinavia and Denmark and Iceland cannot be relied on like the histories of Greece or Rome. The student who tries to discover when

this man was born or that man died from a saga is apt to be disappointed. The more he studies those histories of the sea kings and their countries the more distinct picture he gets of a great crowd of men taking their little ships every year and leaving the rocky barren coasts of their own country to go southwards…. Now and then we hear the name of some great man…." The reflection will occur that this uncertainty is common to most ancient records… And Mrs. Jewett's remark is further unfortunate, for the early history of Rome and Greece is certainly unreliable. The book is easy and entertaining reading, and will be an excellent auxiliary in preparing for examinations. When the striking figure of William the Bastard rises on the horizon he practically draws the history into his own monograph. It is a full and fair picture. The third chapter, again, gives a good starting point in the shape of some clear ideas about Charlemagne. It might well have been more full. The proportion of readers to whom Charlemagne is anything more than a name would be instructive, if ascertained. No one without some considerable knowledge to bring to the task could read with profit such books as "Hallam's Middle Ages." The presenting of a few clear ideas and salient facts is one mission of such books as the "Story of the Normans." The rise of the feudal system and the development of Gaul into the French union is well given, and the quotation of authorities in [reference ?] is one of the excellent features of the book. Here and there are slips of the pen, as this "masterful, to use a good old Saxon word." Good and old certainly, but not Saxon. And "hardshipped" for visited with hardship is novel. On page 316 the phrase "powder of succession," quoted from an old writer, if not a misprint, is puzzling enough to require some explanation, which is not given. The whole subject has a poetical haze, through which, nevertheless, for the writer has not tried to ruthlessly dispel it, the needful background of dry fact may be traced without much difficulty. Perhaps the work might have been better done, even if still confined to a single volume, for the historian is abroad to-day, yet for all that the story of the Normans is well told in this volume.

Editor's Note

Jewett several times in *The Story of the Normans* assumes knowledge her readers are unlikely to possess. The example of the "powder of succession" is one of these. In this case, she draws upon Sir Francis Palgrave, who explains the suspicion that William the Conqueror eliminated a rival, Walter Count of Vexin and his wife, by means of poison. See *The History of Normandy and of England*, v. 3, p. 270. Jewett's Sources.

Unidentified fragment. (HL).

…few slips of detail here and there, as where the First Crusade is ante-dated by some sixty years in a description of Duke Robert the Devil's pilgrimage to Jerusalem, do not materially affect the value of this work. A more serious fault is the tone of exaggerated enthusiasm, reminding one of the later rhapsodies of Carlyle, in which the authoress describes the anarchic violence of a set of adventurers who, with all their shining qualities, were almost the greatest brutes in history.

Criticism

Following is an annotated, chronological list of scholars and biographers who have given some substantial attention to Jewett's history. Annotations are quoted from their sources.

Ferman Bishop, "Sarah Orne Jewett's Ideas of Race," *New England Quarterly* 36:2 (June 1957): 244-6

Choosing elements of the racial theories of both [Augustin] Thierry and [Edward A.] Freeman, Miss Jewett incorporated them into the interpretation of history by which she wrote *The Story of the Normans*. At every successive stage in her account, she emphasized the idea of race.

Richard Cary, *Sarah Orne Jewett* (New York: Twayne, 1962), 156-7.

Between appearances of such sturdy short stories as "A White Heron" and "Miss Tempy's Watchers" Miss Jewett brought out *The Story of the Normans* (1887) in Putnam's series of national histories. She was *sincere* in wanting an authentic formulation and did what she considered adequate research. The result is a fragment of hack work which begins with Rolf, the first duke of the Normans, and peters out after William the Conqueror. Sarah Jewett had neither the training, the perspective, the profundity, nor the style necessary for such a book. It contains a pleasantly uncomplicated

survey of early English life and times, in which she relieves herself of several amateur theories about race motivation and the bases of character.

Josephine Donovan, *Sarah Orne Jewett: Revised Edition* (Christchurch, NZ: Cybereditions, 2001, original edition c. 1980), 60.

Jewett also wrote three works for juveniles during this period. The first of these was *The Story of the Normans: Told Chiefly in Relation to Their Conquest of England* (1887), an inferior work that mixed history and myth indiscriminately and allowed its author to indulge in one of her few pet prejudices, the notion that the Normans (from whom she believed herself descended) were a favored race whose contribution to English culture redeemed it from semibarbarism.

Margaret Roman, *Sarah Orne Jewett: Reconstructing Gender* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992), 102-3.

While *The Story of the Normans* is more of a history than a romance, it shares a common basis with both *The Tory Lover* and "A War Debt." All three stories exhibit one of Jewett's few prejudices, her racial bias for the Norman race, the superior race from which she felt she herself descended. In *The Story of the Normans,* Jewett occasionally utters statements favoring women for their intelligence. She tells of Matilda, who ruled "wisely and ably" (321) during her husband's absence; she recounts how the men "paid great deference to the instinctive opinions of women" (326). Nevertheless, in this male script, which subscribes to the conquest of people and their land, Jewett cannot be herself. Instead, it is far more likely to see a "fair damsel" (160), a wife whose real name is forgotten in favor of her nickname, which means "puppet" or "little doll" (60), women skilled in needlework (116), women who cry as their men go off to adventure (136), and, of course, an "uncomplaining and patient" (145) wife. With the given script, the women characters have no life. Sarah Orne Jewett's writing fails when she reflects society's norms that enslave women. Yet these are the only three pieces in all nineteen of her published volumes that show her attempt at historical fiction. It is also clear that Jewett tries to write them to express her pride in her Norman ancestry.

Elizabeth Silverthorne, *Sarah Orne Jewett: A Writer's Life* (Woodstock, NY: Overlook Press, 1993), pp. 133-5.

The Story of the Normans, which was popular in the United States and in England, ran to several editions in both countries and garnered some favorable reviews. …

Modern reviews have not been as kind in their appraisals, criticizing particularly the author's blending of fact and legend and her insistence that the Normans possessed a superiority of character over the Saxons, whom they conquered. The original Northmen (Scandinavians) had better laws and government, she said, and better history, poetry, and social customs than did the Anglo-Saxons and Franks. And she declared that after the Vikings settled in the north of France and turned their energy to "better channels," they inspired "every new growth of the religion, language or manners, with their own splendid vitality."

Following the conquest of England, Sarah concluded, "much that has been best in English national life" has come from the Norman elements in it rather than the Saxon. However (and this is sometimes overlooked by critics) she pointed out the advantage of the mixture….

Paula Blanchard, *Sarah Orne Jewett: her World and her Work* (New York: Addison-Wesley, 1994), 162-3.

Unable to evaluate her sources and lacking scholarly discipline, she labored conscientiously to marshal such facts as she had and finally produced a lively but historically dubious account, in which she took the opportunity to air her Darwinist views on war … and her belief that the Norman … was racially superior to the Anglo-Saxon and Celt. Both opinions ran counter to her usually liberal slant, and both were based on a mishmash of then-current theory and misinformation. The belief in the superiority of the Germanic peoples was widely in vogue and was promulgated by some of Jewett's favorite authors, among them Matthew Arnold, Charles Kingsley, and Theophilus Parsons. The belief in the cleansing and renewing power of war was based not only on popular Darwinism and the contemporary wave of jingoism in England and America, but on Jewett's personal associations with three "just" and necessary wars fought by her own ancestors and neighbors in the past century…. *The Story of the Normans* occupies the most obscure corner of the Jewett bookshelf, and the best that can be said for it is that it was not the

kind of book that would forever quash its young readers' interest in history.

Sandra Zagarell, "*Country's* Portrayal of Community and the Exclusion of Difference," in *New Essays on The Country of the Pointed Firs*, edited by June Howard, (New York: Cambridge UP, 1994), 42.

By the mid-1880s, hierarchical racialized thinking was also central to Jewett's mentality. She was partly of French descent, and like that of a number of Brahmins -- including Lodge and Henry Adams -- her version of Nordicism cherished the "Northmen" who had become the Normans of France. She felt that the best of America was Anglo-Norman. Her book for children, *The Story of the Normans* (Putnam's Story of the Nations series, 1886), takes for granted a hierarchy of races based on traits presumed innate. Attributing courage, energy, taste, and gentility to the Normans, she assumes that they remained a discrete race from the time of their Norse origins through their settlement in medieval Normandy, the Norman invasion of England in 1066, and English settlement of the United States, retaining their purity even in late-nineteenth-century America. Contemplating England's greatness, for instance, she links the traits she celebrates in the Normans with England's expansionist world leadership ….: Jewett concludes her history by envisioning a family-like alliance of modern nations united by Norman blood ….

Patrick Gleason, "Sarah Orne Jewett's 'The Foreigner' and the Transamerican Routes of New England Regionalism," *Legacy* 28:1 (2011): 25-7.

Jewett's first trip to Europe, a six-month tour in 1882 with her companion Annie Fields, profoundly shaped much of the fiction she produced in the years leading up to US imperial expansion overseas. After this trip, she increasingly associated natural superiority with the Nordic races, racial inferiority and submission with the Anglo-Saxons, and servile dependence with people of African descent. This tendency began with her epic children's history, *The Story of the Normans: Told Chiefly in Relation to Their Conquest of England*, published in 1887 as part of Putnam's The Story of Nations series for young readers. *The Story of the Normans* represents Jewett's most clearly defined Francophilic arguments regarding western civilization and the eclipse of the British Empire by an American superiority founded in the old Norman blood of New England. Here, Jewett celebrates the putatively Nordic qualities of adventure, intelligence, vitality, conquest, and ambition, claiming that the infusion of these characteristics into the racially inferior Saxons made possible the formation of massive empires on both sides of the Atlantic….

Jewett's Argument in *The Story of the Normans*

In *The Story of the Normans,* Sarah Orne Jewett makes a case that the union of Normans and Saxons, beginning in the eleventh century, has "made the England of history, the England of great scholars and soldiers and sailors, the England of great men and women, of books and ships and gardens and pictures and songs!" (365). In her thesis statement, she notes that this England has been a main source of what she believes is best in her own America:

> As we go on with this story of the Normans, you will watch these followers of the sea-kings keeping always some trace of their old habits and customs…. The Northmen were vikings, always restless and on the move, stealing and fighting their way as best they might, daring, adventurous.…
>
> [I]n all the ages since one excuse after another has set the same wild blood leaping and made the Northern blue eyes shine…. [O]ne thing I ask you to remember first in all this long story of the Normans: that however much it seems to you a long chapter of bloody wars and miseries and treacheries that get to be almost tiresome in their folly and brutality; … yet everywhere you will catch a gleam of the glorious courage and steadfastness that have won not only the petty principalities and dukedoms of those early days, but the great English and American discoveries and inventions and noble advancement of all the centuries since. (27-8)

Jewett's thesis is that the transformations of Northmen into Normans and then into the English and Americans is a major thread in the weaving of civilized life in Europe and North America. She suggests that certain Norman traits have persisted through centuries of development and remain visible from the time when the Northmen were barbaric pirates into Jewett's present, when a Norman spirit infuses leadership in the technologically and politically advanced democracies of England and the United States. The direction of this development has been progressive. The Northmen were savage and murderous, but also daring and adventurous. The latter qualities have persisted, and though Norman history may seem tiresome in its recurrent warfare, the end result has been human improvement, the shifting of energies from frequent bloody conflict to making "discoveries and inventions and noble advancement."

Another Norman quality has been especially important to progress:

> There is something refreshing in the stories of old Norse life; of its simplicity and freedom and childish zest. An old writer says that they had "a hankering after pomp and pageantry," and by means of this they came at last to doing things decently and in order, and to setting the fashions for the rest of Europe. (6)

As she elaborates on this hankering, it becomes the origin of a Norman talent for judging among the ideas and practices they encounter in interacting with other peoples and of an openness to cultural transformation by means of adapting the best of these. In this way, Normans help to carry forward in time not only their own best qualities, but those that they find in the peoples they encounter (361-2). This centuries-long refinement has led to the vibrancy she finds in contemporary America.

Jewett organizes her narrative, in part, to show transformations: of Northmen into Normans and, then, of Normans and Saxons into the modern English and Americans.

Northmen into Normans

The Northmen of Scandinavia had two qualities that Jewett thought especially significant. That they were courageously adventurous she attributes to the environment within which they developed their culture, a geography that required them to master seafaring and drew them into raiding and warfare as well as exploring and trading. Their appreciation of ceremonious order remains mysterious in origin, but she identifies this trait as the foundation for their development of domestic and fine arts and of their drive to find the best ways of doing things. This characteristic also is behind their early development of a sophisticated literary and historical tradition that gave unity to their culture. These qualities led to their founding colonies, such as in North America, Normandy and Sicily. Their military prowess enabled them to take and keep Normandy, and their cultural confidence and flexibility enabled them to merge with the cultures into which they inserted themselves, for example, when over two generations, the Danish-speaking Northmen became French-speaking Normans. Though the Northmen merge with the French enough to adopt their language, still they bring into Normandy what Jewett believes must have been a superior culture that values and fosters intelligence, learning, energy, and the willingness to govern.

As Jewett presents these ideas in her opening chapter, she notes that the peoples the Normans came to dominate and transform in France and England were of the same background with the Normans themselves, but that their recent historical experience had made them different:

> The countries to the southward were tamed and spiritless, and bound down by church influence and superstition until they had lost the energy and even the intellectual power of their ancestors five centuries back. The Roman Empire had helped to change the Englishmen and many of the Frenchmen of that time into a population of slaves and laborers, with no property in the soil, nothing to fight for but their own lives. (10)

At the time of the Norman conquest of England, the tribal backgrounds of both the English and the Normans were Germanic, and yet, Jewett says,

> ... the second invasion of Northmen by the roundabout way of Normandy, seems as marked a change as the succession of the Celts to the Britons, or the Saxons to the Danes. The Normans had so distinctly made a great gain in ideas and civilization, that they were as much foreigners as any Europeans could have been to the Anglo-Saxons of that eleventh century, and their coming had a permanent effect, besides a most compelling power. (355)

While Jewett emphasizes the positive qualities that Northmen brought to Normandy, she makes

a point of keeping before the reader their darker side. For example, she speculates that their failure to establish a permanent presence in North America resulted from their preference for raiding and warfare over agriculture (18-9).

To become Normans, Northmen needed to settle in a landscape that would allow the development of agriculture, one that provided access to resources beyond subsistence. Jewett suggests that Viking women may have been responsible in part for the choice to establish a colony in Normandy, that they wanted a more secure and comfortable material life, to reduce the risks of loss of their men in raiding and to improve domestic life (22-3). In Normandy, the Northmen became Normans:

> ... they gradually changed into Frenchmen themselves, different from other Frenchmen only in being more spirited, vigorous, and alert. They inspired every new growth of the religion, language, or manners, with their own splendid vitality. They were like plants that have grown in dry, thin soil, transplanted to a richer spot of ground, and sending out fresh shoots in the doubled moisture and sunshine. And presently we shall find the Northman becoming the Norman of history. As the Northman, almost the first thing we admire about him is his character, his glorious energy; as the Norman, we see that energy turned into better channels, and bringing a new element into the progress of civilization. (23-4)

The first major step in the transformation of Northmen into Normans was moving to Normandy, where geography worked upon them, reducing the pressure to deploy violence to provide necessities and gain comforts and allowing for the growth of domestic arts, learning, technology, and the fine arts. The next major step in this transformation was adopting Christianity, beginning with the conversion of Rolf the Ganger:

> It was all a great step upward, and Rolf's clear eyes saw that. If he were not a Christian he could not be the equal of the lords of France. He was not a mere adventurer any longer, the leader of a band of pirates; other ambitions had come to him since he had been governor of his territory. The pagan fanaticism and superstition of his companions were more than half extinguished already; the old myths of the Northern gods had not flourished in this new soil. At last, after much discussion and bargaining about the land that should be given, Rolf gave his promise once for all, and now we may begin to call him fairly the Duke of Normandy and his people the Normans; the old days of the Northmen in France had come to an end. For a good many years the neighboring provinces called the new dukedom "the pirate's land" and "the Northman's land," but the great Norman race was in actual existence now, and from this beginning under Rolf, the tall Norwegian sea-king, has come one of the greatest forces and powers of the civilized world. (43-4)

Rolf's conversion seems opportunistic in the main, and yet its effect ultimately is transformative. Once he becomes a Christian ruler, he determines the course of his descendants and his subjects toward an increasingly Christian and, in Jewett's eyes, more civilized future.

After the Northmen were firmly established in Normandy and had made Christianity their official religion, the gradual merging of Danes and the French could proceed. She sees in Duke William Longsword a will to merge the two cultures rather than to assert Danish superiority and dominance (63). This illustrates her view of the Norman "character" as self-confidently flexible. The Normans exhibited an understanding that asserting Norman historical identity could be achieved by advancing civilized living more than by maintaining a distinct Danish identity. They could willingly surrender key components of identity, such as religion and language, in exchange for a more peaceful politics and a richer culture. Jewett also makes clear that Normans easily intermarried with their non-Norman neighbors, showing little interest in maintaining what we would call a separate gene pool.

Jewett's account of the two centuries of development between Rolf and William the Conqueror repeatedly takes note of failures and weaknesses of the Normans, but she focuses on strengths and successes, on what she sees as their contributions to the progress of civilization. Both weakness and strength appear in Norman expansion, particularly into Sicily, as recounted in Chapter 7. On one hand, venturing out of Normandy and establishing new colonies seems a natural development of an energetic and dynamic people. Jewett sees a similar inevitability in contemporary English colonialism. Though she clearly admires the Norman and British qualities that drive them to seek the new and to dominate, she also sees that this process is oppressive to those invaded. Still, though Italians resisted and suffered in the Norman conquest of Sicily, in the long run, they

benefited, and by the time of the third Norman duke, Italians and Normans had formed a unity (131-3). What largely redeems the depredations of the Normans is their gradual refinement as a people. She says of their merging with the Italians of Sicily:

> The spirit of adventure, of conquest, of government, of chivalry, and personal ambition shines in every page of it, and as time goes on we watch with joy a partial fading out of the worse characteristics of cruelty and avarice and trickery, of vanity and jealous revenge. ... The south of Italy and the Sicilian kingdom of [Duke] Roger were under a wiser and more tolerant rule than any government of their day, and Greeks, Normans, and Italians lived together in harmony and peace that was elsewhere unknown. (143-4)

A key to Norman success was "tolerant rule," which enabled differing peoples to live and work side by side.

Normans and Saxons become the English

Jewett devotes roughly half of her book to the life of William the Conqueror. Her account closely follows her main sources, but she continues to develop her thesis that the Normans have bequeathed to England and America a spirit that should be embraced. Her account of William emphasizes both his weaknesses and his strengths. She finds him far less than perfectly moral:

> That he did not do some bad things must not make us call him good, for a good man is one who does do good things. But his strict fashion of life kept his head clearer and his hands stronger, and made him wide-awake when other men were stupid, and so again and again he was able to seize an advantage and possess himself of the key to success. (151)

William's successes led eventually to his conquest of England, which Jewett judges as clearly immoral and as devastating for many in the violence and destructiveness of the process (287). As she tells this story, she gives particular attention to the merging of the Normans with the Saxons, the process that formed the character of the contemporary English and Americans:

> There were certain hindrances to civilization, and lacks of a fitting progress and true growth. Let us see what these things were, and how the greater refinement of the Normans, their superior gifts and graces, must come into play a little later. There was some deep meaning in the fusion of the two peoples, and more than one reason why they could form a greater nation together than either Normans or Englishmen could alone. (185)

Once the conquest is complete, Jewett notes, the Normans as Normans begin to disappear from history:

> William was about forty years old when the battle of Hastings was fought and won; Normandy, too, was in her best vigor and full development of strength. The years of decadence must soon begin for both; the time was not far distant when the story of Normandy ends, and it is only in the history of France and of England that the familiar Norman characteristics can be traced. Foremost in vitalizing force and power of centralization and individuality, while so much of Europe was unsettled and misdirected toward petty ends, this duchy of Rolf the Ganger seems, in later years, like a wild-flower that has scattered its seed to every wind, and plants for unceasing harvests, but must die itself in the first frost of outward assailment and inward weakness. (312-3)

William was not especially successful as king of England, and his reign often was brutal and destructive, but still, he did much to prepare the ground for the flowering of England. She describes this process of merging Saxon and Norman as like refining metal:

> Yet, as had often happened before in this growing nation's lifetime, a sure process of amalgamation was going on, and though the fire of discontent was burning hot, the gold that was England's and the gold that was Normandy's were being melted together and growing into a greater treasure than either had been alone. We can best understand the individuality and vital force of the Norman people by seeing the difference their coming to England has made in the English character. We cannot remind ourselves of this too often. The Norman of the Conqueror's day was already a man of the world. The hindering conditions of English life were localism and lack of unity. We can see almost a tribal aspect in the jealousies of the earldoms, the lack of sympathy or brotherhood between the different quarters of the island. William's earls were only set over single shires, and the growth of

> independence was rendered impossible; and his greatest benefaction to his new domain was a thoroughly organized system of law. As we linger over the accounts of his reign, harsh and cruel and unlovable as he appears, it is rather the cruelty of the surgeon than of a torturer or of a cut-throat. The presence of the Normans among the nations of the earth must have seemed particularly irritating and inflammatory, but we can understand, now that so many centuries have smoothed away the scars they left, that the stimulus of their energy and their hot ambition helped the rest of the world to take many steps forward. (318-9)

When Jewett considers the progress William and his wife gained during their rule, she emphasizes both the gains and the losses of this process:

> There is nothing more striking than the traditional slander and prejudice which history preserves from age to age. Seen by clearer light, many reported injustices are explained away. If there was in England then, any thing like the present difficulty of influencing public opinion to quick foresight and new decisions, the Conqueror and Baldwin of Flanders' daughter had any thing but an easy path to tread. Selfish they both may have been, and bigoted and even cruel, but they represented a better degree of social refinement and education and enlightenment. Progress was really what the English of that day bewailed and set their faces against, though they did not know it. William and Matilda had to insist upon the putting aside of worn-out opinions, and on coming to England had made the strange discovery that they must either take a long step backward or force their subjects forward. They were not conscious reformers; they were not infallibly wise missionaries of new truth, who tried actually to give these belated souls a wider outlook upon life, but let us stop to recognize the fact that no task is more thankless than his who is trying to go in advance of his time. ... Nothing has been so resented and assailed as the thorough survey of England, and the record of its lands and resources in the Domesday Book. Yet nothing was so necessary for any sort of good government and steady oversight of the nation's affairs. We only wonder now that it was not made sooner. The machinery of government was of necessity much ruder then. No doubt William's tyranny swept its course to and fro like some Juggernaut car regardless of its victims, yet for England a unified and concentrated force of government was the one thing to be insisted upon....
>
> Yet the future right direction and prosperity of England was poor consolation to the aching hearts of the women of that time, or the landless lords who had to stand by and see new masters of the soil take their places. (327-8)

The merging of Normans and Saxons after the conquest is slow and painful, especially for the Saxons. While the Norman urges toward effective government and cultural improvement win out in the long run, the process entails much suffering, and depends for its success, in part, upon William's ruthless willingness to use force to gain his ends.

The modern English qualities that Jewett admires arise from the merging of Norman and Saxon. This aspect of her book has proven to be controversial in Jewett criticism,* as shown in "The Reception of *The Story of the Normans*." Jewett's critics early formed a consensus that this book reveals her theory of race. Her theory is said to be based upon the idea that Normans and Saxons are different races, in the sense that 21st century readers understand the term "race." That is, critics assert that Jewett understands Normans and Saxons to be distinguished not only by nationality and culture, but also by "blood," by what we would call their genetic heritage. Critics further assert that Jewett sees Normans as racially superior to Saxons and that she advocates for Nordicism, the continuing dominance of Normans in modern Europe and America. Nordicism actually enters American discourse after Jewett's death; it is a 20th-century form of Nativism that argues for the racial purification of the United States by excluding non-Nordic immigrants. The purpose of this exclusion is to maintain the political and cultural dominance in America of a Northern European race and, thereby, to insure the continuation of the democratic institutions that only these peoples can foster. I elaborate in "Jewett and Nordicism" how this is an anachronistic reading of *The Story of the Normans*.

Though Jewett refers to Normans and Saxons as races, it would require a highly selective reading to show that she thinks of them as divided by more than their recent histories. She says that Anglo-Saxons and Normans became foreigners to each other over a mere 500 years of their history. She points out that even during that period of separate development, they were in continuous contact, including intermarriage. She notes that in the Eleventh Century both the

British and the Normans were highly mixed peoples, and she reports the strong influence of Danes on both peoples. While it is true that Jewett finds more to admire in the Normans than in the Saxons at the time of their violent merging in 1066, she insists that the Saxons brought much of value to this union, and, therefore, that "There was some deep meaning in the fusion of the two peoples, and more than one reason why they could form a greater nation together than either Normans or Englishmen could alone" (185).

As illustrated above, Jewett saw the Normans as *culturally superior in some ways* to the peoples they conquered and with which they then merged:

> It has also been the fashion to ignore the influence of five hundred years' contact between Roman civilization and the Saxon inhabitants of Great Britain. Surely great influences have been brought to bear upon the Anglo-Saxon race. That the making of England was more significant to the world and more valuable than any manifestation of Norman ability, is in one way true, but let us never forget that much that has been best in English national life has come from the Norman elements of it rather than the Saxon. England the colonizer, England the country of intellectual and social progress, England the fosterer of ideas and chivalrous humanity, is Norman England, and the Saxon influence has oftener held her back in dogged satisfaction and stubbornness than urged her forward to higher levels. The power of holding back is necessary to the stability of a kingdom, but not so necessary as the
>
> "Glory of going on and still to be -- -- -- -- " (356-7)

The Normans' historical experience, energy and intelligence enabled them to achieve military superiority. Their self-confident cultural flexibility enabled them to transform themselves and those they merged with in positive ways. Jewett also emphasized Norman weaknesses that, to some extent, were remedied as they merged with the French and then the Saxons. Like the Normans, the Saxons, too, had both strengths and weaknesses. In her discussion of the period after the death of William, she says of Saxon England:

> As a nation, they surely responded readily to the Norman stimulus, but the Normans had never found so good a chance to work out their own ideas of life and achievement as on English soil in the first hundred years after the Conquest. In many respects the Saxon race possesses greater and more reliable qualities than any other race; stability, perseverance, self-government, industry are all theirs. Yet the Normans excelled them in their genius for great enterprises and their love of fitness and elegance in social life and in the arts. Indeed we cannot do better than to repeat here what has been quoted once already. "Without them England would have been mechanical, not artistic; brave, not chivalrous; the home of learning, not of thought." (356)

Here Jewett elevates Saxons above all other peoples in their time, including the Normans, in the positive traits she names: stability, perseverance, self-government, industry. This made them an ideal people for responding "readily to the Norman stimulus," presumably because their strengths were at least partial remedies for Norman weaknesses. In this passage Jewett again emphasizes that England becomes not so much a Norman nation as a merging of two heritages into a new entity that contains these two identities in creative tension. She commends to her readers a similar merging of attitudes and values, a combination of traits that foster democracy and social order, an energetic openness to change and appreciation of the best, tempered by industry, steadiness and self-restraint.

Jewett presents a number of different metaphors to describe the merging process, and these introduce some confusion into how she thinks about this blending. When she reflects upon the immediate consequences of the Conquest, she describes the Normans as "a tributary stream that came to swell the mighty channel of the English race and history" (245). This metaphor envisions the unifying process as natural and inevitable, but it implies an idea Jewett opposes later. This comparison interprets the Conquest as do the professional historians she consulted, notably Palgrave and Freeman, who conclude that the Normans were a decisive influence that altered England for the better without converting its peoples into Normans. This metaphor resonates with an earlier comparison of Normans to a hare and Saxons to a tortoise. She says that the hare would win some races against the tortoise, but in the longer run of history, "the tortoise was going to be somehow made over new, and keep a steady course in the right path, and learn speed, and get to be better than the old tortoise" (243-4).

Not surprisingly, Jewett develops other metaphors that resist her sources and more adequately express her view of Norman importance. For example, when speaking of the benefits of William's conquest, Jewett says:

> Yet, as had often happened before in this growing nation's lifetime, a sure process of amalgamation was going on, and though the fire of discontent was burning hot, the gold that was England's and the gold that was Normandy's were being melted together and growing into a greater treasure than either had been alone. We can best understand the individuality and vital force of the Norman people by seeing the difference their coming to England has made in the English character. (318-9)

In this comparison, the two peoples seem to contribute equally to the formation of a modern English character. Human technology and labor extract the most valued traits of a new, unified English character from the raw ore of two different, preceding ethnicities. Near the end, Jewett presents another metaphor that favors the Normans even more. Speaking of modern England, she says:

> But whether the Norman spirit leads her to be self-confident or headstrong and wilful, or the Saxon spirit holds her back into slowness and dulness, and lack of proper perception in emergencies or epochs of necessary change, still she follows the right direction and leads the way. It is the Norman graft upon the sturdy old Saxon tree that has borne best fruit among the nations…. (365)

Saxon virtues become the root stock, crucial and life-giving, but the branches and fruits of the nation are Norman. The metaphor of the graft emphasizes, more than the metallurgic comparison, the organic merging of the two peoples, but recognizes the role of human art in the grafting process. Jewett suggests that the fruits of greatness come from the Norman branch on the Saxon root. But she also implies, again, a national unity, an organic whole. Both spirits are present, and in this case, she emphasizes the weaknesses each brings to the composite of modern England. The Norman spirit pushes the nation toward being headstrong, willful, and, presumably, over-confident, while the Saxon spirit restrains, leading to failures to understand when action is necessary and to act decisively. The strengths that both have contributed to the English character, however, lead England over all in the right direction.

What is meant by "the right direction" may be problematic. Jewett's critics have tended to read such passages as an unqualified endorsement of British civilization, not merely of Shakespeare and modern inventions, but also of the abuses and crimes of Britain, such as in Ireland and in colonies such as India. It would seem clear in the passage above that Jewett recognizes British tendencies to be headstrong, willful, slow, dull, and unwilling to change when doing so is clearly an advantage. Her endorsement of British behavior is not unqualified. Whether she endorses any particular policy or action of the Victorian government is not really apparent in *The Story of the Normans*. One would have to look elsewhere for relevant evidence.

Also problematic in Jewett's view of the merging of Normans and Saxons into a new English people is the nature of the Norman presence after 1066. In the final sentence of the book, Jewett says: "To-day the Northman, the Norman, and the Englishman, and a young nation on this western shore of the Atlantic are all kindred who, possessing a rich inheritance, should own the closest of kindred ties" (366). What is the nature of that kinship, of the "rich inheritance" these peoples share? Does Jewett imply that the essence of young America is its genetic descent from Northmen? Must one literally be of Norman descent in order to be a true American? Is this statement definitive evidence that Jewett was, if not actually a Nordicist, at least a precursor? These questions are pointed by the fact that Jewett clearly believes that the Normans as a physically existing people *are no more*. While there still are Scandinavians, of course, the people who were the Normans of Normandy, who colonized Sicily and invaded England, no longer have a national existence. She uses the metaphor of a wild flower that dies itself, but scatters its seeds abroad, to describe the fate of the Normans as a people (313). While she clearly understands that the Normans gradually disappear from history after 1066, their story becoming the history of England and France, she also repeats the idea that Normans maintain some sort of presence even in the 19th Century. Perhaps this idea is most clearly expressed in her penultimate paragraph, much of which has been quoted above:

> Here, at the beginning of the Norman absorption into England, I shall end my story of the founding and growth of the Norman people. The mingling of their brighter, fiercer, more enthusiastic, and visionary nature with the stolid, dogged, prudent, and resolute Anglo-Saxons belongs more properly to the

history of England. Indeed, the difficulty would lie in not knowing where to stop, for one may tell the two races apart even now, after centuries of association and affiliation. There are Saxon landholders, and farmers, and statesmen in England yet -- unconquered, unpersuaded, and un-Normanized. But the effect on civilization of the welding of the two great natures cannot be told fairly in this or any other book -- we are too close to it and we ourselves make too intimate a part of it to judge impartially. If we are of English descent we are pretty sure to be members of one party or the other. Saxon yet or Norman yet, and even the confusion of the two forces renders us not more able to judge of either, but less so. We must sometimes look at England as a later Normandy; and yet, none the less, as the great leader and personified power that she is and has been these many hundred years, drawing her strength from the best of the Northern races, and presenting the world with great men and women as typical of these races and as grandly endowed to stand for the representatives of their time in days to come, as the men and women of Greece were typical, and live yet in our literature and song. (364-5)

Here as in several of the other passages quoted above, Jewett speaks of two "races" that have not fully merged by the 19th Century. However, she also uses terms such as "party" and "force" to describe their persistence into her time, as she has often used "spirit" in previously quoted passages. In a letter to Annie Fields when she was researching, Jewett speaks of observing contemporary Normans and Saxons among her friends and acquaintances in South Berwick as if they were political parties (See Jewett's Comments on *The Story of the Normans*). Here, she recognizes English citizens who are "un-Normanized," who have resisted the Norman inheritance down to the present day. It would seem clear, therefore, that she understands "Normanism" as a set of transferable attitudes and ideas, such that a Saxon or anyone else can become a Norman in spirit. These attitudes and ideas constitute the "seed that has flourished in a richer soil," a "rich inheritance," that can be shared by everyone, whether they are of Norman descent, or of British descent, or of *any* descent in England or North America. The fortunate citizens of these nations, Jewett believes, *all* are Normans in sharing the gifts Norman culture has bequeathed to the present, and they should embrace these gifts, accept their Norman inheritance.

Jewett's Theory of History

The Story of the Normans has been for some of her critics a touchstone for understanding her theory of history. As is apparent in "The Reception of *The Story of the Normans*," those who draw upon this book to understand her world view tend to conclude that she accepted contemporary Darwinist ideas of progress. She is said to believe that human history consists of a struggle between races in which the fittest survive and dominate, with the result that humanity improves over time. For example, Patrick Gleason says: "War, for Jewett, refines the stock and strengthens the most advantageous of racial characteristics." While it is true that Jewett is optimistic about human progress, the grounds of that optimism are in her liberal Christianity rather than in a materialistic or scientific theory of progress.

Jewett does describe history as a "natural war of races." In the opening chapter she summarizes the received, though disputed, late Victorian view of the human prehistory of Europe, characterizing the people displaced by the Celts and Teutons:

> There is very little known of these earlier dwellers in the east and north of Europe, except that they were short of stature and dark-skinned, that they were cave dwellers, and, in successive stages of development, used stone and bronze and iron tools and weapons. Many relics of their home-life and of their warfare have been discovered and preserved in museums, and there are evidences of the descent of a small proportion of modern Europeans from that remote ancestry. The Basques of the north of Spain speak a different language and wear a different look from any of the surrounding people, and even in Great Britain there are some survivors of an older race of humanity, which the fairer-haired Celts of Southern Europe and Teutons of Northern Europe have never been able in the great natural war of races to wholly exterminate and supplant. (2-3)

Notable in this passage is her observation that shifts in dominance do not necessarily eventuate in extermination of the dominated. In noting this idea, she follows one of her main sources, Augustin Thierry, who argues that conquered "races" typically do not disappear, but continue over long periods of time to persist and resist the dominant forces in their culture. He sees modern European nations as consisting of greater diversity than may appear superficially as a result of the mixture of cultures and peoples

they have absorbed in the course of reaching their modern formations (xvii-xxiii).

Jewett's concept of a war of races is not Darwinist, however, but Christian. She says of the Conqueror's reign: "In criticising and resenting such a reign as William the Norman's over England, we must avoid a danger of not seeing the hand of God in it, and the evidences of an overruling Providence, which works in and through the works of men and sees the end of things from the beginning as men cannot" (331). Repeatedly, Jewett reminds readers of "the slow processes by which God in nature and humanity evolves the best that is possible for the present" (364). She emphasizes a dual perspective, how events appear to those who experience them and how they appear from centuries later, the latter *approximating* a divine perspective from "the end of things." Norman aspirations along with their folly and brutality contribute finally to the progress of England toward greatness. By greatness, she does not mean that either moral or social perfection is achieved in the nineteenth century; "the best that is possible for the present" is not a utopia, but rather what humanity as a whole has been able to manage so far. To her mind, contemporary England and America are morally better societies than most that have come before, and "this whole world is nearer every year to the highest level any fortunate part of it has ever gained" (256). Jewett's liberal Christian view of the divinely directed moral progress of all humanity contrasts with turn-of-the-century scientific racists, who present evolution as pointed toward the development of a superior race, with characteristics unattainable by the inferior races.

Given Jewett's belief in divinely directed historical progress, she would naturally favor agents of positive change such as the Normans over resisters such as the Saxons. Her belief also makes understandable her seemingly callous view of war, expressed in a passage that has drawn ridicule and scorn from reviewers and critics:

> War is the conflict between ideas that are going to live and ideas that have passed their maturity and are going to die. Men possess themselves of a new truth, a clearer perception of the affairs of humanity; progress itself is made possible with its larger share of freedom for the individual or for nations only by a relentless overthrowing of outgrown opinions. It is only by new combinations of races, new assertions of the old unconquerable forces, that the spiritual kingdom gains or rather shows its power. When men claim that humanity can only move round in a circle, … it is well to take a closer look, to see how by combination, by stimulus of example, and power of spiritual forces and God's great purposes, this whole world is nearer every year to the highest level any fortunate part of it has ever gained. Wars may appear to delay, but in due time they surely raise whole nations of men to higher levels, whether by preparing for new growths or by mixing the new and old…. And no war was ever fought that was not an evidence that one element in it had outgrown the other and was bound to get itself manifested and better understood. The first effect of war is incidental and temporary; the secondary effect makes a link in the grand chain of the spiritual education and development of the world. (255-6)

Jewett spoke with pride of her ideas about war in a letter to Annie Fields, presumably, in part, because she believed she had achieved a Christian historian's perspective (see Jewett's Comments on *The Story of the Normans*). Though some have seen this passage as glorifying war, that would seem far from Jewett's meaning. As she says a few chapters later, "the future right direction and prosperity of England was poor consolation to the aching hearts of the women of that time, or the landless lords who had to stand by and see new masters of the soil take their places" (328). A close analysis of the passage is revealing.

Defining war as a conflict between ideas, she begins by shifting perspective away from the usual definitions involving contests for political power, territory and resources. She does not deny these motives, but asserts that behind these is another level, a transcendental struggle in which "the spiritual kingdom ... shows its power." A divine purpose at this level is to achieve clarity, to make possible the full possession of a new truth. The value of that truth is that it makes possible a "larger share of freedom for the individual or for nations." Jewett believes that God wants humanity to achieve greater individual and communal freedom and that, through His Providence, He makes use even of war for this purpose. She sees God as far from desiring to create a pure race, but rather to mix races and their ideas. She believes that studying history confirms this view rather than the notion that there is no progress, that history is essentially cyclical. God's purpose is to advance human possibility and to move all of humanity toward the achievements attained by those who, at any one time, seem in advance of the others. While it is true that in the time of

war, it appears that humanity has regressed, this perspective is limited, and what one sees is "incidental and temporary." From the Divine perspective, which gradually becomes at least partially available to humanity over long stretches of time, even wars make "links in a grand chain." Humanity gradually becomes able to see how God has brought goodness out of the depths of human folly and suffering.

Jewett believes that God insures that the overall results of human aspiration -- within the context of freedom to choose foolishly, selfishly, arrogantly, etc. -- will be progress toward "the best that is possible." The war of races may -- in any particular time and place -- express one group's sense of racial superiority and entitlement, and it too often entails brutality and suffering, but what is really important, from God's point of view, is that a better way is determined "to get itself manifested and better understood," and through this painful process humanity struggles to realize God's will.

A decade after *The Story of the Normans*, Jewett continued to hold to her confidence in divinely directed progress. Reflecting on the 1898 war in Cuba, she writes from France to her friend Sara Norton:

> I hope now, more than ever, for some better news of the war.... I think I can see better and better every day that it was a war which could not be hindered, after all. Spain has shown herself perfectly incompetent to maintain any sort of civilization in Cuba, and things are like some sultry summer days, when there is nothing for it but to let a thunder-shower do its best and worst, and drown the new hay, and put everything out of gear while it lasts. The condition is larger than petty politics or mercenary hopes, or naval desires for promotion, or any of those things to which at one time or another I have indignantly "laid it." I feel more than ever that such a war is to be laid at the door of progress, and not at any backward steps toward what we had begun to feel was out of date, the liking for a fight. I think that it is all nonsense to talk about bad feeling here in France, as it is certainly in England; for however people deplore the war in general and pity Spain, they generally end by saying that it was the only way out -- that we had to make war, and then we all say that it must be short! If we could drown a few newspapers from time to time, it would keep up our drooping hearts and make us willing to bear the hearing of foolish details, and even painful details. It seems like a question of surgery, this cure of Cuba -- we must not mind the things that disgust and frighten us, if only the surgery is in good hands. (10 June 1898, letter 86)

What seems inevitable in the present, however foolish it appears and however much suffering results, must, she believes, reveal the hand of God "at the door of progress." In that sense, returning to the metaphor of the surgeon she applied to William the Conqueror, the operation surely is in good hands. However, when she says "if only," she more likely refers to her uncertainty that the perpetrators of such apparent folly could constitute "good hands."

Jewett's understanding of war as providential clarifies what she means by characterizing human history as "the great natural war of races." Among her sources, Thierry, in particular, shares her view that the mixing and sorting of peoples within emerging nations, though progressive, often is ugly: Progressive recombination of nations, ethnicities, and races may be achieved by armed conflict or by more peaceful interactions, but it always will be costly. Sir Francis Palgrave shares Jewett's view of the role of Providence in fostering progress: "All mutations, all developments, all cor[r]elations, all operations of forces, all result from the Creator's enduring ordinances" (*The History of Normandy and of England, Volume 2: The three first dukes of Normandy*, London: J. W. Parker, 1857, 775-7. See also 497. See "Jewett's Sources").

In *The Story of the Normans*, Jewett presents an argument that, on the whole, coincides with the contemporary historians who were her sources, though at one point, she dares to disagree with Edward A. Freeman about the relative importance of the Normans to the formation of the modern British character (355). Wild and savage, but energetic and uniquely flexible Northmen settled in Normandy and were transformed into the French-speaking Normans who developed one of the richest and most vibrant cultures in the western world in the 11th Century. The Normans conquered England and transformed themselves again, by merging with the Saxons, into the English, leading in the 19th Century to the richest and most vibrant cultures Jewett sees in her western world, including England, North America, and, though she says little of this here, France also. Jewett varies from some of her sources in her view that the story of the Normans reveals the activity of Divine Providence in drawing humanity toward greater freedom, but these ideas do appear in some of her sources, notably in Thierry and in Sir Francis Palgrave.